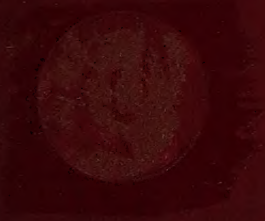
S. Barnabas', Oxford

A Record of Fifty Years



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S. BARNABAS', OXFORD

S. BARNABAS' CHURCH.

Frontispiece.

S. BARNABAS' OXFORD

A Record of Fifty Years

BY

ARTHUR TILNEY BASSETT

WITH FOREWORD BY

THE REV. V. S. S. COLES

Honorary Canon of Christ Church, Oxford

SIXTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS

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To

MONTAGUE HENRY NOEL

FOR THIRTY YEARS

VICAR OF S. BARNABAS'

My 5 '20

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE origin of this little book is as follows. Rather more than a year ago, the present Vicar of S. Barnabas', the Rev. A. G. Bisdee, began to collect materials for a short account of the church and parish during the past fifty years, to be published in connection with the Jubilee celebrations in October, 1919. Many former clergy, workers, and friends of the church wrote reminiscences and lent papers, records, etc., and Mr. George W. E. Russell was asked and consented to undertake the writing of the book. The task was one which Mr. Russell had looked forward to accomplishing himself, but failing health rendered it impossible for him to perform what, in his case, would have been not only a labour of love but a testimony to the strong affection which he felt towards the church and its clergy. About two months before his death he asked me to undertake it. Naturally I shrank from essaying a task which Mr. Russell, with

his unique position as a writer on church matters generally, and his intimate knowledge of S. Barnabas' in particular, had himself hoped to carry out, and it was only at his urgent request and relying on a promise that he would personally correct and amend my manuscript that I consented. But, alas, the hand that should have guided has been stilled, and the present volume with its many shortcomings has to appear without his imprimatur.

To all of those who have so kindly given me information and assistance I tender my most grateful thanks, and especially to the Rev. H. T. Adams, the Rev. A. G. Bisdee, Mr. Montagu Browne, Canon V. S. S. Coles, Mr. T. W. Hodges, the Rev. C. H. Bickerton Hudson, the Rev. M. H. Noel, Mr. H. Paintin, Miss E. R. Price, the Rev. E. S. Shuttleworth, and Mrs. Tristram-Valentine.

A. T. B.

September, 1919.

FOREWORD

I HAVE been asked to write a few words to be printed with the following Jubilee account of S. Barnabas', Oxford.

To many of us the Church is not only dear for its own sake, but as the representative of the great Catholic Revival in the Church of England which began eighty-six years ago with John Keble's sermon on National Apostasy, preached before the University in 1833. The result of that Movement has been to make it clear to the world that, while all members of the English Church are separated from Rome by their appeal to primitive antiquity, a very large part of our Communion has thoroughly disentangled itself from what is known as Protestantism.

We believe that the reformers of the sixteenth century left room in the English Church for those to whom the Episcopal Succession, handed on as it was handed on in the first ages, is a matter of vital value, and who are

in substantial agreement as to sacramental doctrine with both Eastern and Western Christendom.

We believe that the divine truth and practice to which this claim aspires has, in the Revival of our own day, been blessed with a growth far beyond what was gained under Laud. We do not deny that it owes much to the genius of Newman. But since he left us in 1845 we are able to reckon up those who have carried on the torch to our own day. Pusey, as the teacher of the Gift of Faith, greatly aided by the fire and sweetness of Liddon; the preachers of conversion as a part of Catholic ministry, among whom Body shone out in the great London Mission of 1869; the restoration of the Religious Life for men and women, in the Communities of Ascot, Clewer, Wantage, East Grinstead, All Saints', Cowley, Mirfield, and others; the expansion and acknowledgement of the Revival in national life, as connected with the career and witness of Gladstone—I do not fear to add the brave attempt to reconcile modern learning with Catholic truth in *Lux Mundi*, and the equally brave challenge made on behalf of our Orders in Rome itself—all

these are parts of one great Movement. But, along with them there has been a restoration of worship, which has been the most conspicuous, in the popular eye, of all the results of 1833.

Those who made it their business to recover such parts of ancient and ecumenical ceremonial as were best fitted to help the teaching of Catholic doctrine have been known as Ritualists, and have sometimes been suspected as preferring outward symbols to inward realities.

It has not always been possible to obtain the help or even the sanction of the greatest sons of the Revival for what has appealed with great success to the people of our cities and towns. But, as will be seen in these pages, S. Barnabas' Church has been used in a way which cannot but gladden the hearts of those who thank God for what has been done as the result of John Keble's sermon.

V. S. S. C.

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History of S. Barnabas' Oxford

CHAPTER I

THE SITE

LYING to the north-west of the ancient city boundary of Oxford, and about half a mile from the old walls, is a district which has long been known as Jericho, and is said by some to have derived its name from an old building designated "Jericho House" that stood near-by the site of the present inn, to which the name has descended. In the early decades of the nineteenth century the whole of Jericho, save for one or two stray houses, was waste land. Indeed, so late as 1860 the now thickly populated district to the north of "Jericho House" was occupied by sand-pits and allotment gardens, the latter stretching to and covering Cabbage Hill, now better known as Kingston Road. Although Jericho itself,

which mostly lies in the ancient parish of S. Thomas, the northern end being in that of S. Giles, is lacking in historical associations, it is almost completely surrounded by land that has been closely identified with the Church since the Conquest. On the north lies the ancient Manor of Walton, given by one of the D'Oyleys—castellans of Oxford and founders of Osney Abbey—to Godstow, in whose possession it remained until the sixteenth century, when it twice changed hands, being first purchased by Dr. George Owen, who held it for a period of thirty-two years, after which it passed into the hands of S. John's College, the present owners. Until the end of the eighteenth century Walton Manor was entirely farming land, the principal farm-house, with its buildings, standing somewhere near S. Sepulchre's Cemetery. In all probability what is now known as Walton Street was a road leading to these lands, and also to an old road, now destroyed, which led past Walton Well.

South of Jericho stood Gloucester Hall with its extensive grounds, now occupied by Worcester College and its gardens, whilst on the east there lay the Hundred of Northgate and the parish of S. Giles. In the latter stood the "House of Industry," designed in the seventeenth century by Gwynne, the architect of

Magdalen Bridge. On its demolition the site was acquired by Dr., afterwards Cardinal, Newman, who intended to erect there a theological seminary for the training of young Roman Catholics, but the project did not find favour with the Vatican, and was abandoned. To the west of Jericho is Cripley Meadow, an ancient enclosure which has belonged to the City of Oxford for many hundreds of years. Close by are two old wells—Aristotle's and Walton. The former is now completely built over and the latter transformed into a fountain. The actual boundary of Jericho on this side is the Oxford Canal, which was opened in the eighteenth century, and it is highly probable that the squalid dwelling-places which stood in this part of Jericho half a century ago owed their existence to the canal workers and bargemen.

In the early part of the nineteenth century the Clarendon Press moved from Broad Street to new buildings which had been erected in Walton Street at the rear of the Radcliffe Infirmary and the Radcliffe Observatory grounds; and this fact is in all probability the principal if not the sole cause of the marked increase in population which has taken place in the Jericho district during the last eighty years. The present buildings of the Press were completed in 1830, and almost

immediately new streets were planned. In Whessell's map of Oxford (1831) several thoroughfares adjoining Walton Street are indicated, and in Hoggar's map (1850) the Jericho district differs but little from what it is at the present day. Nelson Street, which was largely built of material obtained from houses that formerly occupied the site of the Martyrs' Memorial, had been completed by the latter date. The lower end of Cardigan Street, in which the Church of S. Barnabas stands, was then known as Portland Place, and, together with some of the adjoining land, was water-logged during the greater part of the year. An old resident describes the neighbourhood as being then "interspersed with foul ditches, bog, and marsh land." In the 'fifties a scheme was set on foot for draining the district, but in spite of the expenditure of a considerable sum of money failed in its object. The problem has, however, since been successfully solved.

With the advent of the University Press, and the consequent growth of population, the spiritual needs of the neighbourhood became a matter demanding serious attention, and the Delegates of the Press were not slow to recognize their responsibilities in connection with the new district. When in 1836 the Radcliffe Trustees gave the site on which

THE REV. A. HACKMAN (Vicar of S. Paul's, Oxford) and BISHOP VENABLES (of Nassau).

S. Paul's Church now stands, they not only gave £500 towards the building fund, but also contributed £1,000 to the endowment of the new church, of which the first vicar was "District Judge Carey." Connected with the legal profession in early life, and becoming proctor in the Vice-Chancellor's Court, Carey afterwards took Orders and was appointed to S. Paul's. In 1844 he resigned the living, and a few years later went to Australia, where he returned to the law and was appointed District Court Judge at Sydney. Carey was succeeded by the Rev. Alfred Hackman, a pioneer of the Catholic Movement, whose boundless energy, geniality of disposition, and high culture speedily won all hearts and caused him to be described as a "compound of boyishness and literary scholarship." Hackman was a preacher of very considerable power, and during his long *régime* (1844–70) attracted large congregations to S. Paul's. Amongst his curates was the Rev. Addington Robert Peel Venables, destined to be Bishop of Nassau, whose striking features were said to have been used, consciously or unconsciously, by Holman Hunt for the face of Christ in "The Light of the World." Venables it was who raised funds for providing the Boys' School in Great Clarendon Street, which is now connected with the Church of S. Barnabas.

Such, briefly, is the history of the quarter in which the new parish of S. Barnabas was about to be formed, and the spiritual forces which were at work there. Not all the devoted work of the S. Paul's clergy could make Jericho other than it was—a slum, and a squalid slum at that. In the 'sixties its reputation was none too savoury.[1] Its population was growing faster than its spiritual needs could be supplied. Obviously there was a great work to be accomplished, and it was felt that a church of a new type, offering a more definite form of ceremonial and teaching, would be the best means of carrying it out. The need was self-evident. The cry came from within and it was answered.

[1] ". . . a dark muddy lane leading to Jericho, down which it was not safe for a man to walk." R. D. Blackmore, *Cripps the Carrier*.

THOMAS COMBE.
(*After the Drawing by Holman Hunt.*)

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDER

FOR all time the Church of S. Barnabas will be associated in men's minds with the names of Thomas and Martha Combe, "two of the most unpretending servants of goodness and nobility that their generation knew." [1]

Thomas Combe was born in 1797 at Leicester, where his father was a well-known bookseller. He was educated at Repton, and on leaving school helped his father in his business. The records of his early life are scanty, and how long he remained at Leicester is not clear; but we find him at Oxford in the early days of the Oxford Movement. His early connection with the book trade seems to have prepared the way for his long associations with the Clarendon Press, which he joined in 1837. Keenly interested in Church matters, he was absorbed in the various phases of the new movement, and his interest in ecclesiastical affairs was doubtless increased by his acquaintance with J. H. New-

[1] Holman Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, vol. i, p. 217.

man, at whose historic afternoon sermons in S. Mary's he was a regular attendant. The friendship with Newman seems to have been a close one, and he it was who officiated at Combe's wedding on September 3, 1840, at S. Ebbe's Church.

Akin, perhaps, to his devotion to Church matters was the immense interest which Combe took in architecture and archaeology. In 1844 the future church builder edited a book of *Baptismal Fonts*, which was published by Van Voorst. The work, now extremely rare, is one which will well repay the student's perusal.

Art also claimed Combe as one of its votaries. The collection of pictures which he and Mrs. Combe formed, and which the latter bequeathed to the Ashmolean Museum, is well known. Combe was on intimate terms of friendship with Holman Hunt, Millais, and other members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, nearly all of whom were frequent visitors at his house in the quadrangle of the Press, and there it was that many of the Oxford clergy had opportunities of coming in contact with these great artists and other men of note at the Sunday suppers which in later days became an institution.

His acquaintance with the brotherhood began in 1852, when Pre-Raphaelitism was young. It

so happened that in the year mentioned Millais was painting in the neighbourhood of Oxford, and, hearing this, Combe obtained an introduction, and commissioned him to paint "The Return of the Dove to the Ark." Later he purchased from Collins his "Convent Thoughts," and from Holman Hunt "Britons Sheltering a Christian Missionary." At his request also the latter gave him the first offer of "The Light of the World." This he purchased and afterwards presented to Keble College. Later on, as is well-known, the artist painted the replica of it which is now in S. Paul's Cathedral.

In his picture "London Bridge by Night on the Occasion of the Wedding"[1] Holman Hunt introduced portraits of several friends. Amongst others was that of Thomas Combe, and an interesting story illustrating the late king's faculty of remembering faces and names is told in connection with it. "I know that man," said the then Prince of Wales when he first saw the picture, pointing to a face no larger than a sixpence; "I have seen him in the hunting-field with Lord Macclesfield's hounds. He rides a clever pony about fourteen hands high. His name is Combe."[2]

[1] Of the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII.

[2] Holman Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, vol. ii, p. 190.

Notwithstanding these varied interests Combe was a shrewd man of business. When he first took over the management of the Press it was a considerable expense to the University, but under Combe's *régime* its operations were extended, and before long it became a source of revenue. At a later date it was he who foresaw the time approaching when the University Press would no longer be in a position to retain the monopoly of printing Bibles, and at his own risk started the paper-mill at Wolvercote, which ultimately became a most important and successful adjunct to the Press. In many other ways did Combe show his business acumen, and an interesting account of this side of his career is to be found in the published history of the Clarendon Press.

Thomas Combe always took the keenest interest in the spiritual as well as the material welfare of the employees of the Press—his "boys," as he used to call them. Ruling them in a somewhat patriarchal manner, perhaps, he at the same time let each of them feel that in him was to be found a personal friend, and one who was ever ready to help them in time of trouble or perplexity. So that he might get in closer touch with them, it was his wont personally to conduct Sunday School and evening classes for the younger members of the staff. There is little doubt that it was primarily for

the sake of his "boys" that Combe first thought of building a church in Jericho.

One of the clergy writes: "It was his desire to provide a church where his 'boys,' the young men at the Press, could be at home that caused Mr. Combe to build a church in Jericho. It resembles the 119th Psalm in owing its origin to the needs of young men, and in having become the treasured helper of both sexes and all classes, not least of religious women. But the young men have always been its chief care, in their two classes, academical and citizen, or—in the language of Jericho—the gents and the chaps."

At the same time there were many other considerations which doubtless affected his decision. Amongst the most important of these would be his desire to see a more definite form of ceremonial established in Oxford; for, in the 'sixties, curiously enough, the home of the Tractarian Movement boasted no place of worship which had adopted a ceremonial in any way approaching that which was being carried out in a certain number of churches in London and other large centres of population. The Church of S. Philip and S. James had been completed in 1862, but even there in the year 1869 linen Eucharistic vestments had but recently been introduced, although the silk chasuble was certainly in use

at the Church of S. Thomas, and also in the "tin" Church of the Cowley Fathers which had been erected by Father Benson. Then, again, another factor would be sure to present itself to Mr. Combe's mind, and this was the increase of population which was already taking place in the Jericho district, and which seemed destined to continue. And, indeed, hardly had the Church of S. Barnabas been erected before new streets were planned and houses built which were speedily filled.

Once having made up his mind Combe was not slow in taking action. A site was provided through the munificence of a much respected family named Ward. William Ward, the head of the family, lived in a fine old house in S. Giles's, and it is but a short time ago that his surviving daughters left it. His son, the Rev. Arthur Woollaston Ward, who died recently, was the incumbent of a living near Cardiff; and a daughter, a member of the Sisterhood of All Saints', is in charge of the Mission of the Good Shepherd, Westminster.

Always a liberal contributor to charity, Combe had already shown his munificence in church building by presenting the beautiful Chapel of S. Luke to the Radcliffe Infirmary, for the use of the convalescent patients. The edifice was designed by Sir (then Mr.) Arthur Blomfield, and to him also was entrusted the

designing of the new church. Combe's directions were eminently characteristic of the man. In a letter to the founder Blomfield gave the following account of the instructions he had been given: "They were," he wrote, "that I should design a church to hold a thousand persons for as small a sum as possible, and so far they were common enough; but to them you appended the much less usual conditions, that, while you hoped I should be able to produce a dignified interior, no reasonable expense was to be spared in first securing strength, solidity, and thoroughly sound construction in every part; and not a penny was to be thrown away on external appearance or decoration." These views of church building seem to have entirely coincided with the views of the architect, who called in the services of Mr. Joseph Castle, of Oxford, to undertake the building and to consult as to materials and cost. All was now ready and, on April 26, 1868, the foundation-stone was laid by Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, who, in the year following, consecrated the church on October 19th, the Festival of S. Frideswide, the Patron Saint of Oxford.

Little more than three years later (October 30, 1872) Thomas Combe died suddenly at the Clarendon Press, in his seventy-seventh year. "He was a man of singularly impressive appear-

ance," says one who knew him, "with masses of white hair and a long white beard. His face may be found carved on the base of one of the pillars in the Lady Chapel of S. Barnabas'. It is a fairly accurate representation." The writer also refers to the rough carvings of Mr. Combe and his pet dog which are on one of the pillars separating the Lady Chapel from the nave. At the west end of the church also are to be found, cut in stone, the heads of the Founder, Bishop Wilberforce, Mr. A. Hackman, who was vicar of S. Paul's when S. Barnabas' was consecrated, and Father Noel. Another pen writes: "Mr. Combe, with his white beard and long white hair, sometimes set off by a Magdalen blazer under his M.A.[1] gown—I see him now thus arrayed in the gallery at a Union Debate—was a conspicuous and pleasing figure in Oxford." In some ways recalling Michelangelo's Moses, the portrait by Holman Hunt which now hangs in the Ashmolean Museum is said to be an excellent representation of the Founder.

Martha Combe was also on intimate terms with Dr. Newman, whose letter to her, promising to perform the marriage service, is still in existence, and when the future cardinal went to Birmingham a correspondence was main-

[1] An honorary degree had been conferred on him by the University.

MARTHA COMBE.
(After the Drawing by Holman Hunt.)

tained between the two. Sharing to the full with her husband in all his hopes and aspirations, her married life of over thirty years was an ideal one. When the idea of building S. Barnabas' was first mooted, Mrs. Combe was filled with enthusiasm and, says rumour, did not cease urging her husband to complete the scheme until it was an accomplished fact. Indeed some said that the project itself was originally hers, but whether this was so or not most of those who knew the circumstances were agreed that to her persistence was mainly due the erection of the Church. On terms of close friendship with the clergy of S. Barnabas' and S. Paul's, she was indeed, as one of them writes, "a mother in Israel." Surviving her husband for many years she died in 1893, and to the last she was a generous friend to S. Barnabas'. At her death, as has already been mentioned, the pictures which she and her husband had collected were bequeathed to the University, and a substantial addition was made to the endowment of S. Barnabas'. The name of Martha Combe remains enshrined in the Commemoration Bidding Prayer.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH

DESTINED in more ways than one to be an innovation in Oxford, the Church of S. Barnabas differed, even in its structure, from other places of worship in the city. Whereas, with the exception of S. Paul's and All Saints', which were of classical architecture, all other Oxford churches were of Gothic design, it was decided that the earliest arrangement of Christian churches, namely that of the basilica, should be adopted in the case of S. Barnabas'. Not unnaturally the style of architecture, novel so far as Oxford was concerned, had its critics, and severe ones at that. Indeed, one writer recalls that at its advent S. Barnabas' was regarded not only as "an architectural intrusion, but also as something of a monstrosity."

Certainly the exterior effect when the Church was newly built was not attractive; but, in view of the founder's express wish that nothing was to be wasted on externals,

S. BARNABAS' CHURCH.
(View from the West, 1869.)

this result was not unforeseen. Since then time and weather-staining have softened much which at one time offended the eye, and S. Barnabas', with its lofty campanile, which was added in 1872, thus completing the architect's original design, can now be judged by its proportions, unprejudiced by the associations of its material.

Few architects have been left so unfettered by conventional rules as was Mr. Blomfield. Beyond the stipulations that the building was to be solid, the interior dignified, and the exterior plain, Mr. Combe gave him an entirely free hand. The result has been eminently satisfactory, and whatever criticisms may have been directed against the outside of the Church, the dignified aspect of the interior is generally admitted, and in all probability the Church of S. Barnabas stands as the most successful of the basilican type in England.

On entering the building by the door leading to the apse which forms the Baptistery[1] at the west end and looking eastwards one is at once impressed by the fine proportions and apparent strength which the building presents.

[1] In a coloured drawing now in the Bodleian Library the Church is made to appear with a large central doorway in the west end. This feature seems to have been abandoned in order to provide space for the Baptistery.

The plan, as has been stated, is that of a basilica, and originally consisted of a simple parallelogram 100 ft. long by 60 ft. wide, with an apse at each end, the larger one forming the Sacrarium and the smaller the Baptistery. The body of the Church is divided into nave and aisles by columns supporting semi-circular arches, above which are round-headed clerestory windows, whilst at the west end there is a large circular window unrelieved by stone-work or tracery. The aisles are lighted by small square windows, and the nave is covered by a roof of imposing span effectively decorated in colours.

At the east end a lofty triumphal arch frames the apse in which stands the Altar. In the semi-dome of the Sanctuary a colossal figure of our Lord enthroned is depicted, and underneath is a series of arches in which are figures of the Apostles arranged in pairs, S. Paul and S. Barnabas occupying the centre. The Altar is, as it should be, the most conspicuous object in the Church, and at once arrests the attention. Raised nine steps above the floor of the nave, it dominates the building. Over the Altar stands a lofty baldachino, supported on slender pillars, all highly gilded. In front of the Altar and at a lower level, although higher than the floor of the nave,

THE PULPIT.
(A Memorial to the late Canon Ridgway.)

is the choir, which is separated from the body of the Church by a low wall of stone, on which is a railing of gilded metal-work. Above this hangs, suspended from the roof, an open-work metal cross, richly gilt and inset with fine brilliants.

The original pulpit, which stood on the north side of the nave, is now in the Church of S. Peter, London Docks. The present beautiful structure on the south side was designed by Sir Arthur Blomfield, and erected by Mrs. Ridgway, the widow of Canon Ridgway and a sister of Mrs. Combe. The pulpit was intended to be a memorial to her late husband, but no inscription records the fact. In connection with the erection of the pulpit a characteristic anecdote of Father Noel is told by one who knew him well.

"When the pulpit arrived from the makers it was found that the canopy or sounding-board, originally a perfect octagon in shape, would project much too far. Here was a dilemma! What was to be done? Naturally the workmen from London would not mutilate it without reference to their employers. However, Mr. Noel would have no delay, and insisted on a considerable slice of the canopy, elaborately carved and decorated as it was, being at once sawn off. Nothing more was heard of the matter, and the detached piece

lay for long in an upper portion of the tower, where it probably still is."

The sum spent by Mr. Combe on the building, decorations, and fittings amounted to £6,492. 7*s*. 8*d*., and in view of the highly-successful result attained by this expenditure, which for a church seating a thousand people must be described as modest, it may not be uninteresting to show how the amount was made up. When the Church was opened in 1869 the actual building had then cost £4,791. 6*s*. 5*d*., to which has to be added £788. 18*s*. 7*d*. for the campanile which was erected later. The internal painting, decorations, and carving, alabaster panels, together with the architect's charges, absorbed £733. 15*s*., whilst the Communion plate, bell, chairs, carpets, and cushions accounted for £178. 7*s*. 8*d*. In a letter to the founder Mr. Blomfield, the architect, is careful to distinguish between what is popularly called a "cheap church" and one on whose construction, as in the case of S. Barnabas', the first aim was to secure strength and solidity without respect to any reasonable expenditure.

Well might Mr. Blomfield write :—

"I cannot conclude, however, without saying a few words about S. Barnabas' considered as a 'cheap church.' The idea usually conveyed by this term is that of a showy exterior, flimsy

construction, and a mean and disappointing interior. Now, as the exact opposites of these are found in S. Barnabas', I object to its being classed with cheap churches ; it is true that no money was wasted on it, and it was in that sense economically designed and economically carried out ; but, as I have before said, no expense was spared to secure strength and solidity of construction ; the work was put without any competition into the hands of a thoroughly good contractor, and not one single item of the design from first to last was altered or cut down in the slightest degree to reduce the cost ; everything was carried out as originally designed, and this is more than can be said for many churches that have cost three times as much. If committees would give architects as distinct and sensible instructions as you, sir, gave me, and would then leave them as unfettered as I was left, cheap churches of the flimsy class would be much less common."

During the fifty years of its existence many changes have taken place in the interior of the Church, and perhaps as many more thousand pounds have been expended as were originally laid out by the founder. It is only fair to state, however, that these sums were mainly spent either in decorations or additions to, and not alterations of, the original structure.

After the latter left the builder's hands perhaps only two defects of any consequence showed themselves in after years. One was the concrete floor of the Church, which began to crack, and had to be covered with wood, and the other was the system of heating. The latter was carried out by an arrangement of shafts and flues under the Church floor, which in theory promised excellent results, but in practice resulted either in the Church being filled with noxious fumes if the wind happened to be in a certain direction, or in the metal coverings of the shafts becoming over-heated.

The chief structural addition has been that of the Lady Chapel, for which no provision was made in the original design. As first planned, the north and south aisles were similar, except that at the east end of the former there was a raised plane for an altar, and shortly after Mr. Combe's death the one which is now in the Lady Chapel was placed there as a memorial to him. Unfortunately neither a tablet nor an inscription records this fact, and in all probability it is now known to few. The Lady Chapel itself was erected in 1888, and about the same time the apse was provided with a leaden roof. The cost of these alterations amounted to not far short of £900, the major portion of which was met by an anonymous gift of £300 and generous con-

THE ALTAR—LADY CHAPEL.

tributions from Father Noel and Dr. Bright. The latter also devoted the profits which he received from some of his books to the funds of S. Barnabas' on other occasions.

The porch at the west end of the north aisle was converted into a Chapel of the Reserved Sacrament in 1912. The interior is of chaste design in the Corinthian style, with blue and gold predominating. Rumour says that the position of the Chapel does not find favour with the first Vicar for two reasons, one being that it has filled up an exit from the Church, whilst the other is that as now placed the chapel is like an "engine at the wrong end of the train." In other words, that it ought to be at the east end of the south aisle.

Perhaps, however, the most important development, apart from actual alterations or additions to the structure, has been in connection with the organ. Until 1872, when the first permanent organ was completed, a small temporary instrument was used. The position of the 1872 organ was none too satisfactory and later had to be abandoned. Evidently neither the founder nor the architect of the Church had foreseen the necessity for a large instrument ; certainly no provision was made for one, and the musical enthusiasm of the first Vicar, with the inevitable development of the instrumental portion of the services, ulti-

mately rendered a change necessary. Accordingly the first reconstruction of the organ took place in 1880; but the result did not give universal satisfaction, and in 1887 further alterations, necessitating structural changes in the building of the Church, were made. It was then determined to construct a new organ chamber over the eastern end of the south aisle, extending over the open space which then existed between the nave and the detached tower. The latter change has been sharply criticised from an architectural view, and it has been argued that the effect of the campanile, a striking feature of the Church as originally built, was thereby destroyed. Be this as it may, it is not easy to see where else the organ could have been placed to such advantage, unless perhaps at the west end of the Church. For purposes of sound, the latter position would have been far preferable, but the expediency of placing an organ at such a distance from a voluntary choir had to be considered, whilst a further and fatal drawback would have been the dampness from which this end of the Church suffers. Further improvements were made in 1892, and in 1916 the instrument was completely modernized and practically rebuilt by Percy Phipps, the Oxford organ builder, himself an old S. Barnabas' boy.

The original bell of S. Barnabas', popularly

known as "Barney's Bell," did service alone until 1890, when a set of tubular bells was hung in the tower, and a chiming machine added. Like much else in the history of S. Barnabas' the new bells were an experiment in Oxford, and with the many fine peals of cast bells in the city it is hardly necessary to say that their effect was often the subject of criticism. On the other hand, it seems to have been a case of either having tubular bells or none at all, as the tall and slender tower of the campanile was architecturally unfitted for a peal of ordinary bells. In 1890, also, the four-faced clock with its sweet sounding set of chimes was placed in the tower.

Gifts to the Church have been numerous and costly. The seven Sanctuary lamps before the High Altar were presented by a few undergraduates, amongst whom was the Duke of Newcastle. Others gave the processional crucifix and the best thurible. The mosaics in the spaces between the spandrils of the north nave are offerings from various members of the congregation, whilst other private donors are responsible for the Altar candlesticks, the figure of the Blessed Virgin and the carved oak screen behind it, the Stations of the Cross and the many pictures in the Church, the altar plate and vestments, a dignified Calvary at the west end of the church, and many other gifts.

THE SCHOOLS

Second only in importance to the Church itself are the Schools of S. Barnabas'. They owe their inception to the taking over of the School which, as already mentioned, had been built in the 'fifties for S. Paul's through the instrumentality of Mr. Venables, afterwards Bishop of Nassau, who was at the time curate of the Church. The buildings were designed by Mr. Street, then the diocesan architect, who was also responsible for the plans of the Church of S. Philip and S. James, probably the only other instance in Oxford of his work. Shortly after the completion of S. Barnabas', the edifice, which in its early days was well known as Bishop Venables' School, was conveyed to the new parish. The site of the School, as well as that of all the other S. Barnabas' Schools, was acquired by Bishop Venables from the Ward family, who had given the land on which S. Barnabas' was built. It was not long, however, before the building was found to be inadequate for the parish, and Father Noel, who always held the Schools very near his heart, provided about £700 towards the new S. Paul's Boys' School when they generously made over their old one to S. Barnabas'. The needs of the boys having been met, the next undertaking

was to provide for the girls and infants, and in this direction valuable help was again afforded by Bishop Venables, who will ever be remembered as one of the Church's principal benefactors. He gave additional land, running through to Cardigan Street, and here the first building to be put up was the block now used as the Infants' School.[1]

At first it served the dual purpose of the Girls' and Infants' Schools, but later the two-storied block of buildings on the eastern portion of the site was erected for the accommodation of the former. But the accommodation soon proved insufficient, and the Girls' School was enlarged by the addition of the eastern end of the Infants' School. In subsequent years various alterations and extensions were made both in the Boys' School and in the Girls' School until the buildings assumed their present aspect.

The first head master of the Boys' School was Mr. William Wheatley, who was followed in turn by Mr. R. E. Thomas, at present one of His Majesty's Sub-Inspectors of Schools; Mr. J. W. Horne, now in charge of the section dealing with Elementary Education under the West Riding of Yorkshire Education Com-

[1] The total cost of the land presented by Bishop Venables, which now forms the site of the S. Barnabas Schools, was £500, a sum far below the present value.

mittee ; Mr. F. J. Frost, who became an Inspector under the County of Kent Education Committee ; and Mr. R. Neve, the present head master.

In the Girls' School Miss A. Morley was the first head mistress. She was succeeded by Miss Fanny Hedges, who held the post for a long period, and was followed by Miss A. Mitchell and Miss A. Neve, who is now in charge. The Infants' School has been successively under the care of Miss Susannah Loveday, Miss Isabella White, Miss Laura Plaisted, Miss F. Blay, and the present head mistress, Miss L. Spry As a pioneer in modern methods of education for younger children, Miss Plaisted and her published works are well known. She is now a lecturer and mistress of method on the staff of the Training College for Teachers established at Bingley by the West Riding of Yorkshire Education Committee.

Such, in brief, is the story of the S. Barnabas' Schools and the devoted efforts made by the parishioners in the past for their continued development. The future of Church Schools is obscure, but there seems no reason why greater difficulties should confront those of S. Barnabas' than others in Oxford. So far as its School buildings are concerned, S. Barnabas' compares favourably with its neighbours, but should the day come when the demands of

the educational progress call for the provision of buildings more in keeping with modern requirements, we may be sure that the responsibility laid on the shoulders of the parishioners will be borne no less cheerfully than other burdens in the past.

PAROCHIAL HALL

In 1913, when Mr. Frith was Vicar, an anonymous benefactor presented the edifice in Nelson Street now used as a Parish Hall. The building has had a somewhat chequered history, and is chiefly notable for its association with the Rev. Henry C. B. Bazely, commonly known as the Oxford Evangelist. Built by Mr. Bazely in the 'eighties, it was originally opened as a Scottish Presbyterian Chapel, but in spite of devoted and earnest work, Mr. Bazely does not appear to have met with much success so far as the chapel was concerned. For many years Mr. Bazely, attired in the gown of a Bachelor of Civil Law, was in the habit of preaching, after Church services were over, at the Martyrs' Memorial. Himself the son of a Church of England clergyman, he was induced at a later date, chiefly through the influence of Canon Christopher, who was at the time Rector of S. Aldate's, to take Deacon's Orders and act as his curate. Apparently, however, his new sphere of work did not appeal to him,

as shortly afterwards he resigned his curacy without proceeding to Priest's Orders.[1] Writing of the Nelson Street Chapel during this period, a parishioner says: "My only special recollection of it is that occasionally mothers of children who got into trouble with the school teachers, or were otherwise at variance with the S. Barnabas' folk, used to migrate for a time to the chapel, which, by reason of a carving over the door, used to be known amongst the boys as the 'Burning Bush' —one sharper than the rest calling it the 'Barren Fig Tree.'"

Associated with Mr. Bazely was Mr. George Wheelhouse, another well-known Oxford character, and long a resident in the parish of S. Barnabas'. One who remembers him writes: "Wheelhouse was a man of striking personality, strongly built, vigorous, and venerable looking. A man of humble origin, he was for many years a well-known figure in Oxford, and many will recall the old man with his long grey hair descending to his shoulders. He and Mr. Noel were on friendly terms, and on at least one occasion joined forces. It happened that Mr. Noel had to deal with the case of a house of ill-repute in the parish, and decided to ask Wheelhouse to go with him

[1] An interesting biography of Mr. Bazely has been written by the late Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Hicks.

and endeavour to get the tenants to leave the district. They visited the house together and succeeded, partly by persuasion and partly by threats, in getting rid of the plague spot, the tenants evidently thinking that the combined forces of Church and Nonconformity were too strong to resist. Indeed they remarked that 'All parties were against them!' In this *tour de force* it is said that Wheelhouse did the gospel and Father Noel the law!"

After Bazely's death the chapel in Nelson Street was used for a time as a Meeting House of the Society of Friends, and then was closed for some years before finally coming into the possession of S. Barnabas'. Up to the present time it has been useful in many ways, especially in connection with the Boy Scouts' organization.

THE PAROCHIAL INSTITUTE

Founded in 1891, the Institute owes its existence to the liberality of Miss Joanna Julia Greswell and Miss Helen Margaret Greswell, who not only defrayed the entire cost of the building and site, but also devoted a sum to provide a small endowment. A portion of this money was invested in the purchase of a house, the rent of which forms part of the income of the Institute. The Misses Greswell, both accomplished Hebrew scholars, were

the daughters of the Rev. Richard Greswell, B.D., and for many years worked in the parish, taking a keen interest in its welfare. During their lifetime they desired that their gift should be an anonymous one, but now that both are dead the secret need no longer be kept.

The Institute serves many useful purposes in the parish. The ground floor, with its Reading Room and Billiard Room, is used as a Men's Club ; whilst the upper portion, besides providing lodgings for one of the clergy, and the rooms for the caretaker, is in constant requisition for all sorts of parish purposes, such as choir practices and meetings of various kinds.

Last, but not least in importance amongst the buildings connected with S. Barnabas', must be mentioned

THE VICARAGE

This very unassuming edifice, with its seven rooms, was erected by Mr. Combe at the same time as the Church, and remained his property during his lifetime. In 1886, however, Mrs. Combe formally transferred it to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as a vicarage. In spite of its small size, no less than three of the clergy used to shelter under its roof

at one time, sharing meals in common and making the best of matters by turning their sleeping quarters into bed-sitting rooms. Further than this, as if the available space were not already filled to the utmost, one of the rooms was used for boys' classes and other parish purposes.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST VICAR

IT has ever been the good fortune of the Church of England to possess amongst its servants men who seem in a special manner to have become identified with the churches to which they belonged. There are the notable instances of Mr. Mackonochie and Father Stanton at S. Alban's, Holborn ; Father Lowder at S. Peter's, London Docks ; and many others ; but perhaps in no cases has there been such a complete merging of personality into a church and its parish as occurred during the vicariate of Father Noel at S. Barnabas'. It might well be said that he *was* S. Barnabas'.

S. Alban's and S. Barnabas', in their early days, had many points in common. Each church was built in a slum, and each was intended to evangelize it. Private benefactors gave the site and built the church in both cases ; a similar form of advanced ritual was adopted, and the two incumbents came from the training ground of Wantage and the tutelage of W. J. Butler, afterwards Dean

THE REV. M. H. NOEL.
(Vicar 1869–99.)

of Lincoln. But, here, perhaps, the likeness ceases. Although S. Barnabas' was to hear the not far distant murmurings of the storm which burst with such fury against that section of the Church which in the 'sixties became known as "Ritualistic," yet it never had to stand the full force of the tempest and narrowly to escape shipwreck as had S. Alban's.

Sprung from the Noel family, whose title is Gainsborough and to which belonged Roden Noel, the poet, and Baptist Noel, a one time famous preacher, Montague Henry Noel, nephew of the latter, was born in 1840. In due course Noel went to Eton, where, at an early age, he evinced considerable interest in Church matters. Here he was confirmed by Bishop Wilberforce, with whom he was destined to be brought much in contact in after years. Later, when eighteen years of age, he entered Christ Church, and seems to have become intimate with many of the leaders of the Tractarian party. Dr. Pusey, Dr. Bright, Canon Jenkins of Jesus College, Father Benson, and Dr. Liddon were some of those with whom he was soon on terms of intimate friendship. A writer in *The Gospeller*, in giving some reminiscences of Noel's Oxford days, says :—

"We remember him not infrequently at the

choral celebrations at Merton College Chapel, where good Churchmen were wont to gather, the Vicar of S. John the Baptist (then a quasi-parish) being the Rev. Harry Sargent. The services were well rendered and considered 'advanced.' This was before the 'tin' church at Cowley S. John existed, and before the days of SS. Philip and James. It was rumoured that at one village church in the neighbourhood Mr. Noel not only played the harmonium and led the choir, but materially 'enriched' the service and decorated the church. Mr. Noel was a member of the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, which was founded by Dr. Pusey and others as a help to undergraduates and seniors in their inner life and devotions." [1]

After a brief curacy at Caldicot in Monmouthshire, Noel's special training for the ministry may be said to have begun at Wantage, where so many who have afterwards won fame in the service of the Church have had their training. Here, as curate under Canon Butler at the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Noel stayed from 1865 to 1869, when the call to S. Barnabas' came. Of his life at Wantage Canon Newbolt has placed on record some interesting notes :—

"My first acquaintance with Wantage was on the 1st of May, 1868," he writes, "when

[1] *The Gospeller*, February, 1895.

I drove over from Oxford with a friend, himself shortly to become Curate of Wantage, and afterwards Curate of S. Barnabas'. Mr. Noel had then established himself in the Priory, famous as the birthplace of the great Bishop Butler; an establishment which I then considered to be conducted on principles of extreme asceticism. It was, I think, in consideration to my degenerate taste that we had a table-cloth for meals; but I think, even then, to sit upon a chair rather than a backless form in the dining-room was looked upon as savouring of Sybarite luxury. The garden at the Priory had been carefully laid out and nicely planted, I think by Mr. Noel, and was larger than it is now; the fountain in front of the windows being a constant source of wonder and dismay, as from time to time it hurled up frogs whole or piecemeal.

"In those days we used to make an effort to say between us, in the Oratory of the Priory, the house in which the great Bishop Butler was born, all the Offices in 'The Day Hours' except Vespers, which was only said occasionally, sometimes with the addition of a fragrance since familiar to the congregation of S. Barnabas', and all the candles which could be found in the house.

"Mr. Noel's particular function in the parish church was the Choir, to which he

devoted a great deal of attention, and which he brought to a great state of efficiency. I can look back with delight now to the Office Hymns, whose quaint words and quaint tunes gave him, I know, unfeigned pleasure. I think it was he, too, who introduced the custom of four boys singing the *decani* verses in the Psalms by themselves. He was most loyally devoted to our great Vicar, and conscientiously carried out all the methods which have made Wantage work so famous.

"Mr. Noel seldom preached in those days, and seldom catechized, and I do not remember that he showed that great aptitude which has made Sunday afternoons at S. Barnabas' famous. He would take his share occasionally of the services at the Union, where Dr. Liddon encountered the unaesthetic British guardian, and of which one of the Wantage curates recorded in the log-book: 'I preached to-day before a large and increasing congregation'; at Grove Street Mission Room also; and at Charlton, famous for Mr. Mackonochie's seven years' devoted work, and where the old clerk used to appraise the curates by the height, not of their doctrine, but of their stature." [1]

In 1869 Father Noel was selected as the first Vicar of the new Church, and from that

[1] *The Gospeller*, February, 1895.

year his life's work may be said to have begun.[1] "I had been with Canon Butler for nearly four years," writes Mr. Noel, "when, partly owing to his influence and with the sanction of Bishop Wilberforce and the goodwill of Mr. Hackman, Vicar of S. Paul's, I was offered the living of S. Barnabas' by Thomas Combe, chief partner in the University Press, who was the founder of the Church, which was then approaching completion. I went to stay with Mr. and Mrs. Combe in September, 1869, and was there for a month before the Church was consecrated by Bishop Wilberforce in October." There is no doubt that in recommending the appointment of the new Vicar, Butler, a sure judge of men, had no doubt in his mind that he would be in every way the right person in the right place. Another pen has recorded the appreciation he always entertained for his former curate, whose work at S. Barnabas' undoubtedly owed much to his Wantage training, and it is related that "in later days when the dean was far from pleased with the Ritualists, he was always willing to preach at

[1] Although Father Noel acted as vicar from October, 1869, he was not formally instituted by Bishop Mackarness until February 14, 1870. It may also be mentioned here that, with the consent of Bishop Mackarness, the patronage of the Church was ultimately transferred to Keble College.

S. Barnabas', and always remained a warm friend and helper to Noel." [1]

The acquaintance with Bishop Wilberforce had begun when Noel first went to Oxford, and it is clear that he had early noted the young undergraduate as destined to make his mark. "I hope, Mr. Noel, you will come into this diocese," the bishop had said to him one day from horseback; and Mr. Noel relates that, when about to take up the curacy at Wantage, "I saw him at Eton, and walked up the street towards Windsor with him, and he asked me, 'Are you very extreme, Mr. Noel?' and I answered, 'I like the Prayer Book carried out to the full,' upon which he said 'You will find that, Mr. Noel, at Wantage.' He was charming in his addresses and in his hospitality at Lavington, where he ordained me Priest, and, to my great surprise, said 'I am much pleased, Mr. Noel, with your papers.'"

The bishop's letter to the new Vicar on his appointment may be quoted :—

DEANERY, LLANDAFF,

July 13, 1869.

MY DEAR NOEL,

I most heartily bid you Godspeed in your new charge. It will tax all your powers

[1] Reminiscences by Rev. V. S. S. Coles in *Life and Letters of Dean Butler*.

and, perhaps more than any other, your prudence. You may wreck all your future usefulness, which may be very great, by any early failure in that one respect, and your danger will be that what is really a lack of prudence will probably look to you like an uncompromising adherence to principle: forgetting what our Master said, 'Be ye wise as serpents.' I am very glad that you should have Davidson[1] with you as you propose. . . .

I am, ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The choice was in every way a singularly good one. The newly-appointed Vicar had many outstanding qualities, which stood him in good stead, and perhaps of these the most valuable in the task of organizing a new parish was his special gift of securing the right men to help him, and getting each of them to do his best. As time went on there is no doubt that Noel's influence made itself deeply felt on those who worked with him, and in later days something in the nature of a "Noel School" was in being. His keen sense of humour, his way of turning off troublesome questioners with a chaffing remark, and, above all and

[1] The Rev. Madgwick George Davidson and the Rev. Clement Harrington Moore were the first curates.

through all, his singleness of purpose and steadfast devotion to the Catholic Faith, were attributes that made success certain. One who has known S. Barnabas' from its earliest days gives his impressions. "Mr. Noel," he writes, "was a man of strong individuality, who knew what he wanted, and was determined, so far as possible to have it, the kind of man eminently suited to head a pioneer undertaking. He had a happy knack of making himself at home with every one, young and old. His musical gifts made him well suited to organize an attractive church service." Another refers to him as one "who could enter with a Dickens-like power into the eccentricities and peculiarities of Oxford people, who could get his best from every one, and knew how to use it when he had got it."

The stories told of Father Noel are legion, and his adroitness in pulling out teeth was known to every one in Oxford. "In his middle life," writes an old parishioner, "Father Noel developed a hobby for tooth extracting. He procured a set or two of forceps, and for a good many years was the principal dentist for the parish, not only for boys and young girls, but for many adults also. Many who feared a dentist would not object to have a tooth out unofficially. It was wonderful, too, what luck he had. Almost invariably the

extraction was a successful one, and I never heard of any complication arising afterwards."

The number of those now living who remember the consecration of S. Barnabas' on October 19, 1869, is small, but all accounts go to prove that the ever-impressive service of dedicating a new building to the service of God was, in the case of S. Barnabas', carried out with unusual solemnity and dignity.

Before the actual ceremony began a procession was formed at S. Paul's, the mother church, and, like much else connected with S. Barnabas's, the procession itself struck a new note in the Oxford of those days.

Headed by a brass cross and the churchwardens of S. Paul's, with their staves, the clergy and choir, vested in their surplices, with Bishop Venables of Nassau and the Bishop of Minnesota at the rear, marched from S. Paul's through Cardigan Street to the new Church, where Bishop Wilberforce, who had vested at the clergy house, joined the procession. It is probable that in some ways the service was not altogether pleasing to the bishop, who was determined to celebrate at the north end. Those who know the altar at S. Barnabas's, with its baldachino, will realize the difficulty in doing this and the justification for a remark made at the time that there was "a phantom

celebrant" at the service. The Bishops of Nassau and Minnesota both faced east.

It may be mentioned here that before the actual day arrived notices had been distributed on which were given the names of churches where celebrations of the Blessed Sacrament would take place in the early morning before the consecration service. The first on the list was S. Paul's, where Father Noel began a long day by being celebrant at 5 a.m. The notices contained a request that all those who wished to communicate at 11 a.m. in the new Church should signify their names to the curate the day before. At the actual service about twenty-five people received the Sacrament, but the majority of the congregation (an unusual thing in those days) remained throughout the service, which, with Bishop Wilberforce's sanction, was choral to the end.[1]

So customary was it in the 'sixties and the 'seventies for non-communicating members of the congregation to leave church immediately after the sermon, that special steps were taken at S. Barnabas' to bring about the state of affairs which now so happily exists. On the

[1] That the service did not appeal to Bishop Wilberforce is evident from the extract quoted (with somewhat questionable taste) from his private diary in his *Life*. The Bishop's reference to "paste for bread" was a mistaken one, ordinary bread, pressed so as to avoid crumbs being used.

opening day at S. Barnabas' it is related that "the boys were told that if any meddling clergyman told them to go out they were to say they were baptized and not excommunicate." Bishop Wilberforce preached from the text "I have much people in this city"; and during the octave many other eminent preachers occupied the pulpit, amongst whom one recalls the names of King, Randall, White, Mackonochie, Rivington, Butler, Ward, and Leighton, the Vice-Chancellor. Naturally the new Church attracted the attention of the Protestant party, and it is related that a few days after the Church was opened one of them questioned Father Noel in the street. He let him come to the Vicarage, but soon had enough of him, and said "Before we go any farther I must ask you a question. Have you come to teach me or have you come to be taught? Because, if you have come to teach me, I am just going to have my tea!"

CHAPTER V

SERVICES

SAINT BARNABAS' folk hold that no other church services approach theirs as regards beauty, dignity, and devotion; and maybe they are right. Certain it is that there must be something lacking in one to whom the impressiveness, the purity, and the sanctity of a High Mass at S. Barnabas' do not make their appeal. The comparative plainness of the Church itself contrasted with the richness of the Sanctuary, the beauty, not to say magnificence of the ceremonial, all these tend to eliminate from men's minds their surroundings, and to centre their thoughts on the Sanctuary. They are conscious only that here indeed are they before the Altar of God and near His Presence. The impression at Evensong, when, with lights lowered in the body of the Church, one looks towards the Sanctuary, brilliantly lighted, and sees, through a cloud of incense, the gilded figures of our Lord and the Apostles on the wall of the apse is one of space

and mystery. But let it not be supposed that ritual only is present, and the living force absent. Archbishop Temple was once asked why he tolerated the services at S. Alban's, Holborn, whilst he had condemned similar ones in other churches. "Ah!" he said, "the husks may be the same, but at S. Alban's there is the kernel also." Perhaps no remark could better sum up the position at S. Barnabas'. Many have recorded the impressions made on them by the ritual at S. Barnabas', including a Fellow of a famous college, himself bearing a famous name, who is reported to have said, "When I want a spiritual fling I go to S. Barnabas'."

In a contribution on the religious life of Oxford, the Rev. G. W. Gent writes :—

"The Church seats about twelve hundred people, mostly poor, and is nearly always crowded. Undergraduates may be found there at all times in term, but especially at the Sung Service of Holy Communion on Sunday morning at 11. The ritual is exceedingly beautiful and solemn; few things bring home to us with more effect than the sight of that kneeling multitude, how much 'worship' has come to mean for English Churchmen during the last generation. Another service at S. Barnabas' much attended by undergraduates is the Catechetical Instruction given on Sunday afternoons

to the children ; and so conducted as to be nothing less than a training school for those who will hereafter be called to minister in parishes of their own. At this, and indeed at nearly all churches in Oxford, full use is made of the opportunities afforded by the seasons of Advent and Lent, both of which fall largely in term ; the best-known preachers in the English Church frequently come down ; and the solemn chanting of the *Miserere* or the *Dies ira*, when the sermon is over, leaves in the heart an echo that haunts it for days afterwards. Here, again, the college chapels are at a great disadvantage as compared with parish churches ; for, except at Keble, little or no change is made in college services (under modern conditions it is often impossible there should be) with the varying ecclesiastical seasons. It is, perhaps, the size of S. Barnabas' and its wide open spaces, together with the crowd of faces visible from every point, that makes services at all seasons so impressive there ; for it is needless to say that there are many other churches in Oxford, such as SS. Philip and James, and the new Church of SS. Mary and John, at which the lessons of the season are pressed home with equal fervour, and the services rendered with the same care, and almost with equal splendour of ritual. These, and other churches like

them, all have their votaries, and, like every church in Oxford of whatever ecclesiastical type, are always well attended; but whether from the 'advanced' character of its ritual, or from the poverty of its congregation, or from the succession of well-known preachers who speak from its pulpit, S. Barnabas' has held, and continues to hold, a prerogative position." [1]

In his memoir of Henry Cary Shuttleworth the late Mr. George Russell has left on record a description of the Church he loved so well, and at which, when contemplating entry into the priesthood, he had more than once read the lessons.

"The opening of S. Barnabas' (says one who remembers it) may be regarded as epoch-making in the history of the Anglo-Catholic Movement. The fine character and dignified bearing of the founder; the preparatory work done by Mr. Hackman, the Vicar of S. Paul's, Oxford, from whose parish the district assigned to S. Barnabas' was taken; and the novel character of the Italian basilica style of architecture all seemed to open the way for a 'new departure'; and when to these were added the strong personality of Mr. Noel, the first Vicar, and the marked, though diverse, gifts of his two Curates, the Rev. C. H. Moore and

[1] *Oxford and Oxford Life*, edited by J. Wells (1892).

the Rev. M. G. Davidson (all the three were Christ Church men), it was clear that something was bound to come out of the new foundation. And so it turned out. The music, indeed, was severe in its simplicity, mostly Gregorian, all in unison, boys and men singing alternately. The ritual was, however, more ornate than anything before seen in Oxford—Eucharistic vestments, silk and coloured, being used, as well as lighted candles, and even incense. The services were carefully rehearsed, and went with a swing and precision that fairly astonished people; the sermons were in familiar language, pointed, and short; and the Children's Service on Sunday afternoons was a novelty which attracted crowds. The roads leading down from Walton Street were alive with undergraduates, and other Oxford visitors, before and after each service. What arrested attention in those early years has become so common now that it has ceased to be interesting, and it may be difficult for a later generation to understand how it ever could have been interesting. But so it was; and with the attractive services was united a thorough working of the parish, which Mr. Noel had learnt from Mr. Butler at Wantage, and the tone of all those who were associated in the work was one of cheery confidence, our idea being that we were rapidly transforming

the dull old Church of England into her rightful ideal."[1]

Elsewhere the same writer gives a still more personal memory.

"On the 20th of October, 1872, it was Liddon's turn, as Select Preacher, to occupy the pulpit at S. Mary's. The impressions of that, my first University sermon, have never faded from my mind. . . . The same Sunday was marked by another unforgettable experience—my first visit to S. Barnabas'. The Church was just three years old. . . . (I) found the whole service the most inspiring and uplifting worship in which (I) had ever joined. My impressions of it are as clear as yesterday's—the unadorned simplicity of the fabric, emphasizing by contrast the blaze of light and colour round the altar; the floating cloud of incense; the expressive and unfussy ceremonial; the straightforward preaching; and, most impressive of all, the large congregation of men, old and young, rich and poor, undergraduates and artisans, all singing evangelical hymns with one heart and one voice. It was, if ever there was on earth, congregational worship: and I, for one, have never seen its like. The people's pride in the Church was very characteristic; they habitually

[1] *Henry Cary Shuttleworth*, a Memoir, by the late Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell.

spoke of it as 'our Barnabas.' The clergy and the worshippers were a family, and the Church was a home."[1]

It has been the proud boast of S. Barnabas' that from the beginning there has been a daily Eucharist, and never has there been a Sunday or a great festival without a Choral Eucharist. About a month before the consecration of the Church Father Noel had got some boys together to form the beginnings of a choir, and ordered a small temporary organ, with the result that Merbecke was sung at the consecration service. In 1869 there were few persons in the parish who would have understood a midday Choral Eucharist on Sundays, and for about six years it had been customary to have a plain celebration at 7 a.m., a Sung Eucharist at 8 a.m., as at Wantage and Frome, and once a month, for older people, at 9.30. "The service at 8 a.m.," writes a member of the congregation, "was on ordinary Sundays a *Missa Cantata*, but on festival Sundays the Deacon and Subdeacon were added. The music was Merbecke, and on festivals the *Missa de Angelis*. The early Sung Eucharist did not attract a large congregation, but many undergraduates attended it, some of whom became priests of note in later days. The

[1] *Fifteen Chapters of Autobiography*, by the late Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell.

Hymnal Noted was the first book used. Later on *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was substituted as one more generally in use. Plainsong only was used in all the services, no part-singing of any kind being adopted. . . . Many of the hymn tunes were of the mission type. I recollect the old children's hymn 'There is a happy Home" being sung. Faber's 'Faith of our Fathers' was also a favourite. The services proved wonderfully attractive, and large congregations were gathered together. Undergraduates in numbers attended both at Mattins and still more at Evensong, the Hall dinners of those days being at an earlier hour (6 p.m.) than now, thus allowing men to attend at seven o'clock."

After six years the time seemed ripe for a change, and Father Noel decided to make the "High Service" with sermon at eleven o'clock the great service of the day. He was, however, too loyal to the wishes of the founder, who died in 1872, to make the change without first consulting others, amongst whom was Mr. Hall, who had continued Mr. Combe's boys' class, before doing so. As a result it was decided to have Sung Mattins at 10.30 a.m., but the new arrangement survived only for a Sunday or two, after which it was found better to have plain Mattins and Litany at 10.15, and this has been the custom ever

since. Certainly this and High Service at 11 a.m. did not "alienate the masses"—to quote the stock argument then advanced by anti-ritualists when any change in the order of services was contemplated. However, no objections were raised by the parishioners and the results showed that the change was fully justified. The increase in the number of communicants was remarkable; from an average of about twenty in 1869 the figures rose to about six hundred on a good Easter Day, when services are held at 6, 7, 8, 9, and 11 —not more than three or four communicating at the last. Incense has been in use at every Sunday since 1872. Before then it had only been used at the consecration, and possibly on one or two special festivals. Full Eucharistic vestments were worn from the beginning, but in the early days were of the Gothic or Sarum pattern.

"We had to begin with easy Gregorian music and popular hymns. Modern music developed as time went on, especially at 11 a.m.," writes Father Noel. Another says that the music at S. Barnabas' was like the ritual. It may not have pleased every one, but none could deny that it was effective. As time went on the original somewhat crude plainsong gave place to more ambitious efforts, and Gounod's and Mozart's Masses have

frequently been sung. The fact that the choir has always been a voluntary one is no small matter in Oxford, where the competition of college choirs, and also of an unusual number of churches with fully choral services, has to be faced. Naturally the evolution of the organ into its present state has been an ever-increasing asset in the services, and has materially helped in bringing their present beautiful character. The first Vicar left no stone unturned in procuring for the Church the best organ that could be obtained, and was proud of the result. Indeed, a brother clergyman recalls that if one took a friend to see the Church in the earlier days, Father Noel would sometimes go up to the organ and make it produce an overwhelming volume of sound which he would say represented a thousand pounds! Nowadays three thousand pounds would be nearer the figure.

Of the original choir, perhaps only two now survive—George Painton and George Parsons; but one recalls many names of old members. There was Alfred Richard Mowbray, who was at that time engaged in building up the well-known Church publishing firm which bears his name. He died suddenly in 1875 some hours after teaching in a night school connected with a local branch of the Guild of S. Alban, of which he was master,

and was buried in the cemetery of S. Cross, Holywell, where a memorial, the cost of which was defrayed by public subscription, was erected to his memory. His two sons, Alfred Mardon Mowbray and Samuel Edwin Mowbray, were also members ; likewise Dr. F. A. Dixey, Fellow and Bursar of Wadham College; and many others.

Perhaps Father Noel's greatest innovation was the institution of Children's Services on Sunday afternoons. Certainly nothing quite like them had been seen at Oxford, and they attracted crowds of adults, for whom the aisles were reserved. Some rough notes made by Father Noel tell how they began : " We got the children in great numbers from the first Sunday after consecration. I went round all the streets on the previous days and talked to every boy and girl I met, and told them to come the next Sunday at three, and to 'tell all the rest.' Bishop King, then Principal of Cuddesdon College, addressed them and kept them in rapt attention. I took them the next Sunday, explaining on what authority I was teaching them, when a man in the side aisle shouted out, 'Children, don't listen to him ; read your Bibles.' Some of the men in the aisle promptly turned him out, but meanwhile I said, 'Children, that man just proved what I was saying. People talk as if there had been

a great thunderstorm in which the Bibles in English tumbled down from heaven—family Bibles, pocket Bibles, Bibles with the Apocrypha, and Bibles without the Apocrypha, etc., etc., and lo! a great voice from heaven, "Here 's your Bible, pick up your religion for yourself." ' That man helped me immensely as an 'object lesson,' and because the children saw that I did not 'funk him.' I only remember this sort of thing happening again some time later, but that other man also helped me much."

The service consisted of a metrical Litany sung by the Vicar, or four choir boys, and the children alternately. The catechizing was done at first from the nave, Father Noel walking up and down the centre, and afterwards from the pulpit. As a preacher Father Noel may not have been possessed of what is known as pulpit eloquence, but his sermons, always marked by plainness of speech, simplicity and earnestness, were eminently effective; his catechizing possessed the same qualities and achieved a similar result.[1] "The services gradually attracted a larger number of undergraduates, and even some college dons," writes one who

[1] Father Noel was frequently in the habit of reading a sermon of some well-known preacher, duly announcing the fact at the time. He also encouraged his curates to adopt the same course.

remembers them well, "and many priests have said that from them they gathered a number of principles of Catholic belief, which they in their turn imparted to others. The number of children attending gradually increased until at last the whole body of the nave was densely packed with boys and girls, and they eventually overflowed into the aisles. It was one of the most impressive sights I ever remember, and the volume of sound from so many children's voices was undoubtedly both inspiring and attractive. More than once have I seen Canon Liddon in the men's aisle listening, with a quiet smile on his face, to Mr. Noel on these Sunday afternoons." [1]

There can be no doubt that Mr. Noel's efforts to bring the younger generation to S. Barnabas' in the early days was of incalculable importance in welding together the fabric of the new parish. The affection which the Vicar felt for the younger members of his congregation was fully reciprocated. Their usual designation for the Church came to be "Our Barnabas"; and at a later date, when the shadow of prosecution darkened the parish, Dr. Liddon is reported to have said, "My

[1] Dr. Liddon once sang the eight o'clock Mass on a saint's day in a red chasuble at S. Barnabas's, but never preached there. He used to say that S. Barnabas's represented the "Church Jubilant."

dear Noel, you will have to go to prison, and then all the school children will give you sugar-plums through the bars."

Since Father Noel left S. Barnabas's the services have altered somewhat in character. More direct and methodical teaching has been aimed at, and possibly greater effectiveness has resulted; but the older method certainly had one advantage which is now lacking, in that it afforded instruction in a more direct and simpler way than by sermons to some of the older folk, who, perhaps, derived as much benefit from it as the children did.

From the first S. Barnabas' has been well attended by the undergraduates of Oxford, and it has always been the endeavour of its clergy to secure the best preachers of the day. During term time a great many of these were the clerical fellows and other resident graduates, whilst amongst others who have preached regularly at intervals space only permits mention of a few names taken at random from the Church register. There was Dr. Bright, a familiar figure at S. Barnabas' until his death; Edward King, a constant preacher until his elevation to the See of Lincoln in 1885; Canon V. S. S. Coles; Canon R. L. Ottley; Dr. R. J. Wilson, Warden of Keble; Dr. W. Lock, another Warden of Keble; Canon Knox Little; Canon Scott Holland; R. W. Randall,

afterwards Dean of Chichester ; Canon Newbolt ; Bishops Mackarness, Paget, and Gore ; Bishop Mylne of Bombay ; Bishop, afterwards Archbishop, Jones of Capetown ; Archbishop Benson, whilst Bishop of Truro ; Bishop Talbot ; Dr. Cosmo Lang, now Archbishop of York ; Dean Butler of Lincoln ; Canon Moberly ; Canon Body ; J. R. Illingworth ; Malcolm MacColl ; Dr. Inge, Provost of Worcester College. The Cowley Fathers, too, were frequent preachers, and the records mention Fathers Benson, Rivington, O'Neil, Puller, Page, Congreve, Maturin, and Waggett ; whilst of those whose names were prominent in controversies of former years there were Mackonochie, W. J. E. Bennett, Stanton, Suckling, Archdeacon Denison, Hanbury-Tracy, Bell Cox, and many others ; indeed few churches can lay claim to a more striking list of preachers.

Not only were there to be seen in the pulpit the figures of those whose names will ever be associated with the history of the Church of England in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but amongst the congregation were often to be seen some who had achieved renown in other ways. It was only natural that this should be so in view of the growing fame of S. Barnabas', "which," to quote Canon Knox Little, "has had far more

influence in the Catholic Movement than many more prominently advertised churches." Another writes, "All over England, and indeed all over the empire, you may meet those to whom a common knowledge of S. Barnabas' is an introduction." The following notes made by one who has known and loved S. Barnabas' from its earliest days give a vivid picture of the congregation as it was, and indeed as it is, although some of those mentioned are now no more to-day.

"During term the men's side was mostly filled—and often it was quite full, always when Canon Knox Little preached his annual or more than annual sermon—with undergraduates, not without an admixture of dons. You might see such splendid representatives of college life as John Conroy and Henry Wakeman. A few, perhaps, rather well-known Oxford tradesmen were attracted by freshness and reality. In vacation many college servants took the place of the undergraduates, and Mr. Combe's Press boys were not absent. On the other side were the Sisters of the Holy Trinity and their scarlet-cloaked girls, with a good company of North Oxford ladies, and a really respectable number of parish mothers and daughters. Here and there, on the men's side, you might find a youth who would not have been inside the Church if he had not

been made to escort some ladies from the country. He might cross his legs, and make them say to the preacher, 'Don't suppose I came to hear you'; but there was that about S. Barnabas' which he could not help feeling the power of. Neither must one forget the many students from the women's colleges who were always to be found there, and I remember that when I used to come to Oxford as a stranger between 1869 and 1884 Walter Pater might often be seen in the attitude of a kindly spectator, and later as a worshipping Fidelist! I think those who know S. Barnabas' will be sure that his memories of the Church were with him when he described the Mass of the third century in *Marius, the Epicurean.*"

CHAPTER VI

WORKERS IN THE VINEYARD

DURING the fifty years of its existence S. Barnabas' has been under the care of five vicars, and to assist them there have been twenty-one curates in all, one of these (the Rev. C. H. Bickerton Hudson) being afterwards vicar.

Two Christ Church men, the Rev. Madgwick George Davidson, who ministered from 1869 to 1871, and the Rev. Clement Harrington Moore (1869–72) were the first curates, and, acting under the Vicar's directions, one of their earliest tasks was the preparation of books in which were entered the names of all the parishioners, their occupations, the names and ages of their children, and whether baptized, confirmed, communicants, and so on. The plan, which was one that had been adopted at Wantage, was an excellent one, and proved to be of the greatest use in the organization of the new parish. The new Church speedily won the allegiance of its parishioners, and took the place which it has ever since held in

the Church of England. For over two years all went well, when of a sudden disaster threatened S. Barnabas', and went near to wrecking all that had been accomplished.

In the spring of 1872 Mr. Moore, who was a volunteer curate and has been described as a man of gentle manners, a good preacher, and popular in the parish, went abroad. His health was far from good, and it had not been unusual for him to make trips to the Continent when he was run down. At a parish function before he went he made a speech in which he compared his connection with the people of S. Barnabas' to the blades of a pair of scissors, which only separate in order that they may come together again; but the consternation amongst the parishioners may be imagined when a very few weeks after his departure the tidings came that he had been received into the Church of Rome. Bad as the news was, matters might have mended if Mr. Moore, having severed his connection with S. Barnabas', had remained away from the parish; but this was not to be, for Mr. Moore, who for reasons of health lived in a part of Oxford away from the Vicarage, returned to Oxford, and before doing so sent practically every member of the congregation a pamphlet giving the reasons for his change

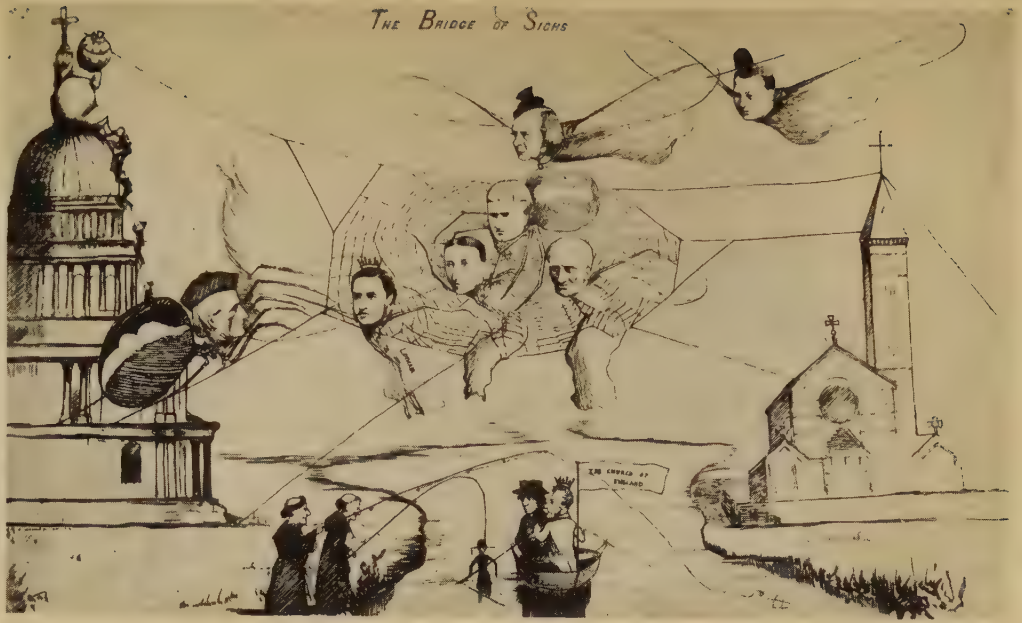
Passenger by Church of England Express:
"What Station is this?"
Very Civil guard. (Ages C...l)
"Barn'bas Junction"
change here for Rome"

CARTOON—"BARN'BAS JUNCTION."

of faith and containing the stock arguments then in use by Roman controversialists. Plainly the new recruit did not intend to be a passive member of the Church of his adoption, and having maintained friendly relations with those whom he had known at S. Barnabas', more particularly with the younger members of the congregation and the choir, he made a point of asking as many of them as would go to his house, where Monsignor Capel, then a figure of some note in the Roman Church, was a frequent visitor. No great results followed these efforts, but a few of those who had been in the choir or had assisted in the services at S. Barnabas' in some other way left the Church of England for that of Rome. A member of the congregation gives a rather humorous description of the alteration in Mr. Moore after his secession. "Instead of the severely priest-like habit associated with the former curate," he writes, "he was dressed in the highest lay fashion of the 'seventies, with a very new and shiny silk hat, a fashionable black cut-away coat, and trousers of a very light and delicate colour."

Soon the, in those days, inevitable pamphlets made their appearance. Mr. Moore, as already mentioned, had issued his manifesto, and it was not long before two replies were forthcoming. The Anglican champions were

the Rev. R. J. Wilson, then a Fellow of Merton and afterwards Warden of Keble, and "A Layman" who gave his initials as "A. R. M."—in other words, Mr. A. R. Mowbray, whose connection with S. Barnabas' has been already mentioned. It is unnecessary to follow in detail the attacks and counter-attacks of the war of words which followed, and in which each side claimed its victories. Mr. Moore, however, was not content to confine his proselytizing campaign to printers' ink, but sought a helper in the active work of enlisting recruits for Rome. This he soon found in the person of Walter Croke Robinson, known in later days as Monsignor Croke Robinson, who had just seceded from the Church of England, and was more than ready to assist Mr. Moore, at whose house he became a frequent visitor. The two left no stone unturned to achieve their end, and every move at S. Barnabas' was carefully watched. Accordingly, when it became known that Father Noel was to preach a sermon referring to Mr. Moore's departure and secession Mr. Croke Robinson was one of the congregation. The occasion chosen was the formal opening of the first permanent organ; but it was to hear Father Noel and not the new instrument, which indeed was still uncompleted, that a vast



CARTOON—"THE BRIDGE OF SIGHS."

congregation had assembled.[1] The preacher took for his text, "But it was even thou my companion, my guide and mine own familiar friend," and the verse that follows. Those who heard the sermon were struck by the charitable and temperate strain adopted by Father Noel, who announced his intention of not again referring to the "unfortunate events" which had taken place, and of going on quietly with the work in front of him. But, alas! this was not to be; the controversy was not to be stilled, and Father Noel determined to take a definite line both in the pulpit and out of it. He gave notice that he would take an opportunity of replying to the many questions which had been raised by preaching three sermons on Popery. The first of them dealt with the horrors of the Inquisition. The preacher contrasted the mild and gentle manners of Mr. Moore with the methods of the Church he had joined, and gave such terrifying details of the sufferings and tortures of victims of the Inquisition that several ladies fainted. "It did beautifully" was the Vicar's comment afterwards. The two remaining sermons were on Mariolatry and the Union of Christendom.

[1] Some amusement was caused at the time by a box bearing the words "ROMAN CEMENT," in large letters, being delivered at the Church for use in connection with repairs to the campanile.

Presently the art of the caricaturist came upon the scene, and there are still many who will remember the clever and amusing series of sketches which were published at the time, and of which copies still exist. Perhaps the best known was that representing S. Barnabas's as a railway station. "What station is this?" says a passenger (Mr. Moore), alighting from a train, in which Father Noel remains seated, to the guard (Monsignor Capel). The answer comes "Barnabas Junction. Change here for Rome." Cardinals Newman and Manning are to be seen on the platform. Another, called the "Bridge of Sighs," represents Cardinal Manning as a spider stretching a web from S. Peter's to S. Barnabas'. In the meshes of the web the Marquis of Bute, Cardinal Newman, Mr. Moore, and Mr. Croke Robinson can be recognized, whilst Bishop Wilberforce and Father Noel are seen hovering above. In the canal, which is shown as separating S. Barnabas's from S. Peter's, two monks are fishing for further catches, and in a boat marked "Church of England" and propelled by a Peer, whose identity is uncertain, Archbishop Tait is seated. A third depicts Father Noel and Mr. Moore as rival cheapjacks at S. Giles's Fair.

There still remains another incident to recount before bringing to a close the wave of unrest which encircled S. Barnabas'. This

CARTOON—"THE RIVAL 'CHEAP-JACKS' AT S. GILES'S FAIR."

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was the decision of Mr. Davidson, who had been Mr. Moore's fellow curate, to relinquish the clerical profession.[1] Possibly the long drawn out controversy had had its unsettling effect on him, but it did not lead to his severance from the Church of England. Still, occurring at the time it did, the event was unfortunate. There is little more to be said about Mr. Moore's efforts, which were much greater than the success which attended them. The number of those who followed him into the Church of Rome was very small, and of these several eventually returned to their former communion; but the times had been trying for all at S. Barnabas'. Indeed the marvel was that the defection of his two most effective curates in the early days of S. Barnabas' had not shattered the fabric which Father Noel had erected. One who remembers those times writes, "To have survived the crisis marks the work at S. Barnabas' with the same distinction, on a small scale, as belongs to the Movement as a whole, which was not extinguished when it lost Newman."

In November, 1872, occured the death of the founder, Mr. Thomas Combe; and indirectly it was the means of again focussing attention on

[1] Mr. Davidson, whose father was an eminent conveyancer and author of Davidson's *Precedents*, afterwards entered the legal profession.

the Church, his funeral being the first public example of the more advanced ritual of the Church of England to be brought before the public gaze of Oxford people. Elaborate arrangements were made; the nave of the Church was partially cleared and the coffin placed on a raised bier in front of the choir gates. A full Choral Requiem Eucharist was offered at 8 a.m. At 2 p.m. the Burial Service was sung, the coffin censed, and a sermon preached by Dr. Bright. Afterwards a procession, headed by the choir, was formed, and wended its way to S. Sepulchre's cemetery. In it were a large number of representatives of the University, Mr. Combe having been one of their printers, and employees of the Press, together with Father Noel and the Rev. W. B. Duggan, then Vicar of S. Paul's, both vested in cope and biretta, Mr. Hackman, the former Vicar of S. Paul's, in hood and surplice, occupying a carriage. The newspapers gave great prominence to the whole ceremony, protests were made from many quarters, and attacks in pamphlet form were made against the clergy of S. Barnabas'. The most important production of the latter class was undoubtedly *Quousque*,[1] which attracted considerable atten-

[1] *Quousque? How Far? How Long?* by a High Churchman of the Old School. London: Longmans Green & Co. 1873.

tion at the time. The anonymous author, since stated to have been Dr. W. E. Jelf, did not hesitate to use the plainest of plain language in his attack. The "Barnum like processions and theatricals," the "bad taste" which tried "to attract the eyes of the vulgar" on an occasion so solemn as the funeral of the Founder of the Church, the attempts to attract notice by "as many and as effective *coups de théâtre* as possible" were some of the expressions used to describe the happenings at the funeral ceremonial of Mr. Combe. Great play was made with the word "Ultramarines" which had recently been coined to designate the Ritualist Party. Some of the London churches were said to have "out-Mackonochied Mackonochie," the apathy of the Bishops was deplored, "What is the Bishop of Oxford doing?" "Does he sit aloft at Cuddesdon in the hope that things will right themselves?" these and other missiles were flung at the party whose "logical and natural development," the writer declared, was only to be attained in the Church of Rome. The writer was not alone in his attack; other hostile critics were the Rev. J. W. Burgon, then Vicar of S. Mary the Virgin, and afterwards Dean of Chichester, and the Rev. C. P. Golightly. Perhaps the enemy overshot his mark, but certain it is that before long the storm blew

over and affairs at S. Barnabas' continued their course.

But there was a bright lining to the clouds which overhung S. Barnabas'. The sympathy of many members of the University was drawn to the Church, and they rallied to the help of the clergy. There was the Rev. R. J. Wilson, who not only took a prominent part in the Moore controversy as already noticed, but for many years gave regular help in the services and was a great support to the Vicar in times of trial. Then again there were Dr. Bright, the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, about whom a lover of S. Barnabas' has written, "Beyond all others the learned, kind, enthusiastic, generous, elder friend of S. Barnabas' was William Bright. I think the short sermons of his one published volume were preached there, and the combination of the poet and the divine in him was a power strongly felt at S. Barnabas'. The sensitive nature which shrank from much of academical life and never allowed Bright to appear, as he ought to have, in the pulpit of S. Mary's, found a congenial atmosphere among the young, the simple, and the warm-hearted at S. Barnabas'." Others were Canon Rawlinson, Professor of Ancient History; Canon James Ridgway, who had been Principal of Culham Training College; L. K. Hilton, Precentor of

Christ Church; and Edward King, destined to be Bishop of Lincoln. Dr. King, who had preached in the Church's first octave, never lost his interest in S. Barnabas', and for some years contributed £100 a year for the organist's salary until he left Oxford in 1885.

Other friends of S. Barnabas' in the early days were Canon Jenkins of Jesus College, and H. R. Bramley, Fellow of Magdalen, afterwards Canon of Lincoln, both friends of Mr. Noel from undergraduate days. The interest which Canon Jenkins took in railways and railway men, parties of whom he was continually escorting round Oxford, gained for him the soubriquet of the "Railway Bishop." It is related of him that once when unwell he went on the advice of friends to see the beauties of Derbyshire, but soon returned and gave it as his opinion that "the sight of a Great Western railwayman on his engine" was more attractive to him than anything he had seen. Although one of the gentlest of men he was reported to have said to some Cambridge students who were talking of having "educated the Martyrs," "Yes—but we burnt them."

After Moore and Davidson the next curates were H. R. Rendle and A. W. Hutton, who both served S. Barnabas' from 1871 to 1873. The former, who was far from robust, had to leave owing to ill health, and died shortly

afterwards. The somewhat variegated career of Mr. Hutton need not be more than casually referred to here. After his departure from S. Barnabas' he became Rector of Spridlington, where he rebuilt the church at his own expense, and shortly afterwards entered the Church of Rome. He then associated himself with the community at Edgbaston, the head of which was Cardinal Newman, whose private secretary he became and whom he represented at the funeral of Dr. Pusey. Again becoming unsettled in his religious outlook, he left the Church of his adoption and retired into lay life, holding the librarianship of the National Liberal Club for a few years. He then resumed his Anglican Orders, and was given the incumbency of Bow Church. Hutton was possessed of considerable literary ability; and, amongst other works, was responsible for a widely-read biography of Cardinal Manning.

During the period of Mr. Hutton's curacy there appeared at Oxford in the person of Henry Cary Shuttleworth one who, both as layman and priest, rendered devoted service to S. Barnabas'. Coming at a crisis in the Church's affairs, his manliness, love of sport, and attractive personality exercised a considerable influence over Father Noel's "chaps," and helped to keep together the young men who, as we have seen, were being sorely

tempted. Elsewhere [1] Father Noel has placed on record an estimate of his character which may well be quoted here. He writes: "My first acquaintance with him began by his offering to help us in the choir. Like David as a youth, 'he was ruddy and withal of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to.' Moreover, he was at home in manly exercises as in music. He soon proved himself to be very useful, and while still a layman he helped in the Sunday School, which was started before we had a Day School; and he was always ready to help the men and boys in any way he could in his spare time, being always thoroughly to be relied on for anything he undertook, and for the good tone he set. Seeing what an excellent Curate he would make, I secured him while still a layman, and he lived with myself and the other clergy in the Clergy House. He was ready to help in every possible way, taking classes of various kinds, in which he was most successful, as also in getting up entertainments, and in starting the *Parish Magazine*. In fact, it was in a large measure owing to his work as layman, deacon, and priest that S. Barnabas' became what it did in early days, and his love for S. Barnabas' remained with him to the end."

[1] *Henry Cary Shuttleworth*, by the late Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell.

Shuttleworth left Oxford in 1876, and his subsequent career as Minor Canon at S. Paul's and Rector of S. Nicholas Cole Abbey is too well known to need more than mention here.

Other curates in the critical 'seventies were Cecil Booth Tyrwhitt (1872–75) and Edward Starkie Shuttleworth (1877–79), a younger brother of Henry Cary Shuttleworth. Happily both are living, Mr. Shuttleworth holding the living of S. Paul's, Kingston Hill. The latter, like his brother, exercised great influence with the "chaps," and also possessed his musical taste. There was Edmond Ibbotson, too, and C. W. H. Kenrick, neither of whom stayed more than a twelvemonth; also Edward Vernon Collins, who served in the parish from 1879 to 1885, and of whom, and of Mrs. Collins, many will have grateful memories. A native of Bodmin, he was a typical and genial Cornishman, and was, beyond doubt, one of the most successful priests that S. Barnabas' has had. His stock of Cornish tales and legends seemed innumerable, and they lost nothing in the telling. Whilst in the parish he married, and took a house in Church Walk, where he used frequently to entertain parties of parishioners. If—and it is a very doubtful "if"—there was a rift in the lute in connection with his ministry at S. Barnabas', it was caused by his active participation in politics. Unlike

Father Noel, whose sympathies were supposed to be with the Conservatives, but who never paraded his opinions and to whom the idea of giving expression to them in public would have been abhorrent, Mr. Collins, a Liberal of pronounced type, took an extremely active part in the stirring elections of the 'eighties, when the country, and not least Oxford, was stirred to its depths, and political feeling reached a pitch which has not since been witnessed. However, no harm came of it all, and Father Noel showed his regard for Mr. Collins by presenting him in 1885 to the living of Caldicot, where it will be remembered that Father Noel himself held his first curacy, and of which the patronage, in later years to be given to Keble College, had afterwards come into his possession. Finally, Mr. Collins was given the living of Blisland on the Moors, near Bodmin, the town of his birth. Here he found a church which seemed hopelessly dilapidated, but which he restored most beautifully. In his later life—he died but a few years ago—he suffered from failing eyesight.

Other figures flit across the scene. Reginald Horton (1880–82) will be remembered as being the first married clergyman to be given a curacy at S. Barnabas'. Although somewhat of an innovation at the time, the result was highly successful, his wife, like Mrs. Collins before

her, being of great help in the parish, furnishing a proof that the last words as to the merits of a celibate priesthood had not been spoken. Mr. Horton died some years ago. Then there was Alan Coates (1887–89), now Incumbent of Barsham, who sometimes played the 'cello in the Church Services, and who, during the rebuilding of the organ, organized an orchestra which accompanied the choral services with marked effect. After him came Philip Herbert Leary (1882–84), now Vicar of S. Augustine's, Kilburn, whose eloquent sermons attracted much attention ; and Marsh Kirkby (1883–87), whose footballing propensities endeared him to the youth of S. Barnabas's. Another curate was Henry G. Hellier (1885–86), who, like his father before him, had been a Nonconformist minister. In 1886 came Charles Henry Bickerton Hudson, who was curate from the time he took Orders until Father Noel's resignation in 1899, when he became Vicar. Always a generous helper of the Church, his kind and sympathetic manner and disposition gained him many friends among the parishioners and congregation. Edmund Tyrrell-Green, now Professor of Hebrew at Lampeter College, served S. Barnabas' from 1888 to 1890 ; and Renton Pascoe from 1891 to 1894. But two names have to be added to the list of Father Noel's

curates—Harold Thomas Adams (1888–1902) and Reginald Waldram, who was his colleague from 1897 until they both left in 1902. To Mr. Adams belongs the distinction of having held his post longer than any other curate. Together with Mr. Waldram he still remained curate during the short incumbency of Mr. Hudson, with whom he was connected by marriage.

The more recent vicars are mentioned on a later page. Among their assistant clergy have been the Rev. W. E. P. Hogg (1902–9), now Chaplain at S. Mary's Home, Wantage; the Rev. W. D. Sargent, from 1903, who is still at S. Barnabas'; the Rev. G. A. Michell (1909-16 and 1918–19), now Principal of S. Stephen's House, Oxford; and the Rev. G. H. Bown (1917–18) who was elected Bishop of Nassau, but died in November, 1918, before being consecrated.

Before bringing this chapter to a conclusion mention must here be made of one who, though never formally connected with S. Barnabas', was for some years a prominent helper in the services. This was Thomas Bowles, who had been Vicar of East Hendred. "Many will remember this venerable old priest," writes one of the congregation, "whose presence as celebrant added additional dignity to the Eucharistic Office."

CHAPTER VII

THOSE IN AUTHORITY

THE story of the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874 has been told too often to justify repetition here. How Mr. Gladstone opposed the Bill which his great opponent declared had as its object the putting down of Ritualism, how the Liberal leader gave notice of six resolutions which in his view furnished a more secure basis for legislation, how his party refused to follow him, and how within a session the Bill became an Act, all these are matters of history. The Act contained a provision whereby was formed what was in effect a new Ecclesiastical Court, in which, with the bishop's consent, any three parishioners who felt that their "just rights" had been interfered with by methods of ritual which they considered objectionable, might prosecute a beneficed clergyman for his so-called irregular conduct. The new Act came into force on July 1, 1875, and there then began a series of prosecutions which caused a restlessness and a tumult within the Church which only those who lived through

those times of stress can realize. Men were tossed hither and thither in the storm which burst over the Church, and some there were who clutched at the straws held out to them by the Church of Rome. Amidst it all one section was in high fettle. The party of persecution looked forward with rejoicing to the results which they hoped to obtain from the new court of which Lord Penzance, "the secular judge of a secular court for the trial of spiritual causes," was the head, and the outcome must have exceeded even their anticipations. God-fearing priests whose character and conduct were examples to be followed were indicted. Many were compelled to pay costs which spelt ruin, whilst others were cast into prison cells. The names of those who were attacked are well known. There was the Rev. C. J. Ridsdale, who had the honour to be the first who was prosecuted under the new Act; the Rev. R. W. Enraght, of Bordesley; the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie, of S. Alban's; the Rev. Arthur Tooth, of Hatcham, whose sick face in the prison cage had haunted Dr. Liddon; the Rev. J. Bell Cox, of Liverpool; the Rev. T. P. Dale, of S. Vedast's, and others, most of whose names were familiar to S. Barnabas's parishioners, in whose Church many of them had preached. But the ruthlessness of the persecution soon proved to be

its own undoing. Men were shocked at the disparity and inappropriateness of the punishments inflicted when viewed in relation to the offences which were committed. In course of time further prosecutions were disallowed by the bishops, and the Act became the dead letter which it still remains.

But what of S. Barnabas' during these critical times? How did it escape in these days of difficulty, "when," as a former Vicar writes, "priests like Mackonochie, Tooth, Enraght, Bell Cox, and others were put in prison for the very things we did, and which are thought ordinary now? At times letters were written to Bishop Mackarness and to the Oxford papers, but we generally managed to 'overcome evil with chaff,' and somehow no 'prosecution' ever came off." The writer then recalls a typical Noel story. "I remember," he adds, "that once when a Protestant had printed a pamphlet headed 'Ritualists Frightened,' Father Noel went into one of the schools and said to the children, 'Your parents will want to know what the Vicar thinks of this leaflet which has been put under the doors in the parish. Well, tell them that this is what he thinks of it,' and, so saying, he put his thumb to his nose and spread out his fingers. After which little 'ritualistic' sign no more was heard of the pamphlet."

The escape from prosecution during early days created in some minds an impression that there was at S. Barnabas's a tendency to shirk opposition by surrender, but no greater mistake could have been made. Responsibilities were never evaded, and in emphasizing this Father Noel has said: "Opposition and prosecution even were often threatened, but certainly there was no idea entertained of giving way and leaving other churches like S. Alban's, Holborn; Holy Trinity, Bordesley; S. Mary's, Prestbury; and S. Margaret's, Liverpool, to bear the brunt of the attack."

There is no doubt that the general principles given in the letter which follows were adopted at S. Barnabas's.

THE VICARAGE,
FROME SELWOOD,
March 13, 1871.

MY DEAR NOEL,

My advice is simply

PASSIVE RESISTANCE
and
SILENT CONTEMPT.

Go on in everything that is authorized by Catholic custom. Advance on the first opportunity, but go back not a single step.

Let the bishops attack if they dare.

They dare not.

The E.C.U. paper of remonstrance is childish and treacherous. Do not sign that, because by implication you will be involved in the bishop's authority.

The authority of the CHURCH only.

The authority of the Queen, when against the Church, disobey.

You cannot serve two masters. Choose your master this day.

Baal? Then follow him.

God? Then follow Him.

May we all have grace to suffer when the time comes.

Yours affectionately in our dear Lord,
Who will defend us,

W. J. E. BENNETT.

In 1865 the Rev. James Davies, an aged vicar felt constrained to utter a note of warning against what he considered excess of ceremonial, and wrote: "Depend on it Satan owes you a grudge. He will tempt you in the church—put you on the very pinnacle of it—because he knows now he cannot catch you with the deceits of the world or the lusts of the flesh. He won't use his two main instruments. He will

come himself personally to you, and dress himself up with violet stoles, golden crosses, frontals, and super-frontals. These are the body. Don't let him persuade you that they are the spirit of Christianity."

The attitude adopted towards S. Barnabas' by Bishop John Fielder Mackarness—"Honest John"—was, on the whole, kind; and there is no doubt that he wished to give its clergy his support so far as he could. He held many Confirmations, opened the new Day Schools, and preached more than once in the Church; but, on the other hand, he seems to have been somewhat exacting at times. Objections were raised to various features in the services. One was to the singing of "Faith of our Fathers," which was given up. "Harmony" rather than so much "unison" singing, as was the custom in early days at S. Barnabas', was suggested, and, as a result, the former was introduced. Indeed, in every way, unless it was thought that vital principles were being endangered, those at S. Barnabas' were ready to act loyally to their Bishop, and he in his turn extended consideration to those who held views with which he did not fully agree. Writing to the Vicar, who had penned a protest against the judgement of the Judicial Committee in the Purchas Case, he explained his attitude.

March 11, 1871.

MY DEAR MR. NOEL,

I have so many letters on the same unhappy subject that I can but answer very briefly to yours. I have felt bound myself to obey the letter of the Judgement, as I should obey the law in any other respect, if not contrary to the law of God. To those who think it *is* contrary, I have nothing to say. I ought, perhaps, to add—as I can do on the best authority—that the Judgement was *intended* to be guarded, as strictly as possible, from being an expression of doctrine. It was meant to be an interpretation of the rubric in the light of contemporaneous practice —nothing more—so I am assured. The whole matter is most distressing. I can only say that I sympathize deeply with much that you have said.

Yours sincerely,

J. F. OXON.

Later in the 'seventies matters more nearly approached a crisis. The usual "aggrieved parishioner" had made his protest to the Bishop, but of this Father Noel, then away for a short holiday, was unaware. On his return, therefore, his surprise was great at receiving a letter from the Bishop suggesting that the use

of vestments, lights, and incense at S. Barnabas' should be discontinued. The correspondence which ensued has long been destroyed, but to the best of Father Noel's recollection he answered somewhat as follows: "Coming back from the glories of Rheims to our unhappy divisions, I find this letter from your Lordship. If I were to give up vestments, lights, and incense, I should only exasperate my friends and not appease the enemy. I think it best, therefore, to go on with everything as it is, and to let the enemy do his worst." The Bishop's reply was not conciliatory, and Father Noel sought advice from Dr. Pusey,[1] Mr. Carter of Clewer, Butler

[1] The following letter, written apparently in 1868, after the judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of Hebbert *v.* Purchas is not without interest :—

Christ Church,
Oxford.

My dear Noel,

My deafness prevents my being of any use at a consultation. At the Hebdomadal Council my neighbour writes for me what is going on. I have said, too, all I could say—that, in my mind, all depends upon the minds of the congregation. One could, of course, celebrate reverently without any ritual, and we might the more fix our minds on the Holy Ghost descending to sanctify our oblation and the two choirs of angels, on either side, worshipping.

The judgement is so monstrous that plain people

of Wantage, Dr. King, and others. One who accompanied Father Noel remembers some of the interviews. "Pusey," he writes, "con-

must come to see that the rubric 'Such ornament of the Church and of the ministers thereof, *shall be* retained' cannot mean 'shall *not* be retained.' An affirmative proposition cannot be the same as a negative.

Still (as I said years ago) I should narrow the ground to what would be defensible in a fair court. Phillimore surprised me in some of his judgements, as that the chalice could not be raised during the service, as being a fresh ceremony; nor (if I understood him right) the prayers *before* the consecration. Yet he is a favourable judge.

I should think that one hope of success lay in narrowing our ground. When our congregations agree with us the law might tolerate us, if we had a very plausible case such as this about the vestments, and if we were ready to go to prison. But, for the present, it has been a tremendous defeat. If you submit to it in a degree the blow may spend itself. The whole of the nineteenth century is aesthetic, and so ritual has only to bide its time. I said long ago that I thought that ritualism was going on too fast, and that ritualists did not make allowance for the slow growth of human things. Archbishop Darboy told me that an Englishman would beat a Frenchman any day. The Frenchman made a tremendous rush, and if he failed to carry his point, gave in; the Englishman kept his point steadily in view, advanced steadily, securing now this advance, now that, never losing sight of his point; advancing, as it were, zigzag, but carrying it at last. The ritualists seem to me, as a whole, to have been using the French instead of the English way of advancing. And so they have sustained a severe check. They could

tented himself with saying 'I had no idea you had such a gigantic ritual,' but does not seem to have proffered any very definite advice. But Dr. King did, and it was one of the most interesting things that I remember. We saw him on a Sunday afternoon, resting on his bed, after preaching in the morning. 'I can't talk, my dear Noel,' he said, 'but my advice is, Smash through, smash through.'

"I remember his gentle look and the humorous twinkle which accompanied this warlike advice. Then we went to Wantage,

not carry their point, 'Whatsoever is not forbidden is allowed,' trying it all at once, and have brought upon us the opposite dictum, 'Whatsoever is not enjoined is forbidden.'

Some things, I should think, would have to be given up for the time; but they will come back again. You do not remember the surplice war. It cost one valuable life in Exeter. It is more amazing how two such acute Bishops as Bishops Blomfield and Phillpotts could think the battle worth fighting, or not see that they would be defeated. They failed because they tried to carry it by authority, without predisposing the people.

The same has been the fault now (I do not say with any grounds). If the ritualists entrench themselves, for the time, in tenable ground, they will live, please God, to have the rest.

God be with you,
Yours affectionately,

E. B. PUSEY.

but I was not present at this interview, being handed over to the care of Holland, then curate. But it was a long interview, and I think it was decisive. Noel had great respect for his old vicar's opinion, and finally it was decided to give way. If I remember right, the lights were reduced to two, the service was now *Missa Cantata*, quite simply rendered, with vestments, of course, and less incense. The Bishop wrote Noel a really charming letter, and the decision had a notable effect, as will be seen.

"Before this, some of the leading Oxford Catholics, nearly all *Lux Mundi* men in after days, came down to ask Noel if he would allow them to preach a course at S. Barnabas', on Sunday evenings, as the Church was so filled with undergraduates. Bishop Mylne, Scott Holland, and (I think) Paget came down. The result was a course of sermons by famous men in the Autumn Term. Paget preached the first—in the Octave of All Saints' Day—was taken ill in the middle and had to stop. Illingworth preached a fine sermon on 'Gather up the fragments,' but managed to preach his stole off during it, which displeased Noel extremely, I don't know why. Well, the Bishop heard of the sermons, and, after Noel had agreed to meet his views, suggested

another course, offering to preach the first sermon himself, and bringing Bishop Woodford, of Ely, over to preach the second. These sermons, I think, continued for a good many years."

Afterwards it was discovered that the aggrieved persons were men of no particular position. The prime mover was not a communicant at S. Barnabas', or indeed anywhere. Entirely on their own initiative the churchwardens wrote a letter to the Bishop beginning: "It having oozed out who the party was that complained of our Church, we think it right to let your lordship know something of their characters." Some startling particulars followed, and the letter continued, "Is this the class of man who is to settle the ritual of our Church? We must request your lordship if further complaints are made to communicate with us, the churchwardens, who are the proper custodians of the rights of the parishioners." The letter, as sent to the Bishop, was not shown to Father Noel, but he knew the contents of it, and one who knows him well avers that the opening sentence was a constant joy to him, and one to which he often referred. Nothing much came of the letter, but complaints ceased, and in course of time the ritual was gradually restored to its former splendour. Cordial relations with the

Bishop were maintained until and after his resignation.

In bringing to a conclusion this account of a time when, for a brief space, S. Barnabas' lay under the shadow of a prosecution, it is only right to add that at no time did Bishop Mackarness make objection to any doctrine taught at S. Barnabas', where it was their boast that they "always went by Bible and Prayer Book."

But little remains to be said concerning other occupants of the See of Oxford. Bishop Stubbs was at all times kind and considerate. His sense of humour saved him from taking too seriously the utterances of extremists. "He's mad, he's mad," he said to Father Noel of a clergyman who had written to him complaining of doings at S. Barnabas'. On the other hand, no one could enter more dispassionately into affairs of real moment, and in times of stress his advice was invaluable to the Vicar of S. Barnabas'. Unfortunately when the Lambeth Opinion had been pronounced he felt it his duty to enforce Archbishop Temple's utterance against the use of incense. For some unexplained reason, however, he did not follow him in the matter of "portable lights." It is related that before the "Opinion" was out Father Noel had said to the Bishop, "If they do away with the incense, they will do

away with the Wise Men, and if they do away with the lights in procession, they will do away with the Wise Virgins, so that we shall be fools all round." Father Noel preached a trenchant sermon on "L'Affaire Lambeth," in the course of which he said that it "left the liturgical use of incense to the angels who, so far as he was aware, were not under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury." The use of incense was curtailed for a time, and no more was heard of the matter. Bishop Paget was always sympathetic towards S. Barnabas', but urged that there should be at least three communicants at High Mass.

Dr. Gore's affection for S. Barnabas' is well known. When he preached at the Dedication Festival in 1912, he told the congregation it was in S. Barnabas' he had made his first communion in Oxford, and that after his ordination as priest he celebrated the Holy Eucharist for the first time in the same church. He also referred to the part taken by S. Barnabas' in the battle in support of the liberties of ceremonial, and the deeper things which underlay them. "These matters might now be regarded as ancient history," he added, "but it must never be forgotten what was owing to S. Barnabas' in having helped to win the fight for liberty of worship." At S. Barnabas' also

Bishop Gore pontificated at High Mass shortly before his resignation of the See of Oxford, and thus proved by one of his last acts in the diocese the affection which he felt for the Church.

THE REV. C. H. BICKERTON HUDSON.
Vicar 1891–1901.

CHAPTER VIII

LATER DAYS

THE loss to S. Barnabas' when "the old Vicar" resigned in November, 1899, was incalculable, and there were many who declared that the Church would never again be the same. Happily these predictions of gloom have not been verified, and S. Barnabas's still stands at the forefront of the Catholic movement in the Church of England ; but when it first became known that Father Noel had decided — and few know what a wrench was involved in the decision — that uncertain health rendered it advisable that he should give way to another and a younger man there was a general feeling of blank dismay amongst the parishioners. They felt that all the S. Barnabas' traditions of thirty years were being snapped in twain, that they would never again be carried on with their pristine freshness and vigour, and that, in fine, an unbridgeable gulf was being formed between the past and the future of their beloved Church. The unique personality of Father Noel seemed to preclude the possibility of

his being "succeeded" by any stranger, no matter how gifted; but fortunately the difficulty was solved by the appointment—which was the one that Father Noel himself desired—of Mr. Hudson, whose thirteen years' experience as curate ensured the unbroken continuance of the S. Barnabas' tradition. Short as Mr. Hudson's incumbency proved to be, it was of an importance perhaps hardly realized, in that it served as an easy gradation from the first Vicar to a third one. Perhaps at no time —and it is saying much—did Mr. Hudson show the genuine love and devotion which he felt towards S. Barnabas' more or serve it better than when, with quite inadequate health, he accepted charge of the parish.

The story may best be told in his own words: "When Mr. Noel resigned the living of S. Barnabas' two years ago," wrote Mr. Hudson in the *Parish Magazine* at the time of his resignation, "and it seemed impossible to find a priest who was both able and willing to be your Vicar, the Warden of Keble College wrote to me, asking whether I would step into the gap and take up the work, for which my known affection for S. Barnabas' and my long connection with the parish seemed to him to suggest a certain fitness. I replied at once, thanking him for the kind offer of his confidence, but declining absolutely the offer

of the living, on the ground that I was altogether unfitted for the post. When, a few days afterwards, he pressed me to reconsider the matter, I told him that there was one only ground upon which I could consent to make the trial, and that was, if I knew that it was the wish of my old Vicar. Mr. Noel came to see me next day and said 'What the Warden suggests is the very thing I wish, only I thought that you would not be willing to undertake the work'; and then he added 'Try it in any case for a year.' That was two years ago, and I think that I have fulfilled the Gospel precept—he said, Go one mile, and I went with him twain. It was his wish alone that decided me to agree to the Warden's plan. But if Mr. Noel's wish made it clearly my duty to the parish to make the effort to keep things together, under the stress of a difficult time, I feel it to be equally my duty to the parish now to resign. I told the Bishop my health would not allow me to work the parish in the way in which I thought it *ought* to be worked. He was kind enough to take me at my word, and in his letter to say 'You write as one who has formed a decisive resolution, and so I suppose it is right for me to accept your resignation. But, indeed, I do so with anxiety and regret. . . .' There is one thing more I should like to say. It is

that one reason which weighed with me in consenting to take the living was the hope that by my doing so we might keep the old Vicar with us as long as possible. I feel that, at any rate, the parish owes to me one obligation, in the fact that they have thus been able to have among them the presence of one whom they so deservedly love for at least two years longer than they would otherwise have had him with them."

During his incumbency Mr. Hudson's task was lightened by the loyal help of Mr. Adams, who remained as curate; and when the new Vicar found it impossible to continue his duties Mr. Adams carried on the services until his successor, Mr. Hallett, was appointed. Special mention should also be made of the assistance given during the interregnum by the Rev. C. Day, then resident in Oxford. It was due to his help that it was possible to carry out the service of the High Mass on Sundays without its being reduced to the *Missa Cantata*, the otherwise inevitable alternative.

On Thursday, April 17, 1902, a log-book kept at S. Barnabas' records "The new Vicar, the Rev. Cyril Hallett, from All Saints', Notting Hill, came into residence at the Vicarage." Mr. (now Archdeacon) Hallett was no stranger to S. Barnabas'. It was there that he "learnt

THE VEN. ARCHDEACON HALLETT.
(Vicar 1902–11.)

for the first time, when an undergraduate, the strength of the Catholic Faith and the beauty of Catholic worship." Another connecting link was that at Notting Hill he had worked for some years with the Rev. P. H. Leary, whose curacy at S. Barnabas' has been referred to previously. Mr. Hallett's singular gifts and genius for organization were given full scope at S. Barnabas's. He was careful to preserve the traditions of the Church, although he did not scruple to break away from them if he believed a change was advisable. The chiefest example of this was the alteration made in the children's afternoon service, which has been referred to in a previous chapter. These services were known and noted far beyond the confines of Oxford, and it entailed some courage on the part of the new Vicar to interfere with them; but once having made up his mind, he at once, doubtless to the regret of many, made a complete change in their character. The class for "chaps" at the vicarage which preceded the children's service attracted his attention on his first Sunday as Vicar of the Church. The impression he received was not favourable. He felt, rightly or wrongly, that the class had outlived its usefulness. "Not one of them attends Mass," he noted. "The question is, can the tradition of many years' standing be lived down, or will it not be better to

end the class?" As a result this class was abolished.

Many other changes were made. The ceremonials of the services was ordered more in accordance with liturgical use. Great efforts were made to get parishioners to realize that the church was for them as well as for undergraduates and North Oxford. The hours of some of the services were varied to meet the needs of some of the parishioners, who by universal testimony now came in greater numbers than before. The Institute was reorganised definitely for their benefit, and various clubs and guilds were started, including a men's Bible Conference. This afterwards became a Monday evening meeting at which all sorts of current topics were discussed.

The Church music was his special care, and there is no doubt that the beauty and dignity of the services, already of a high standard, were increased as a consequence. Not a Sunday passed without a note being made as to the performance of the choir. His labours were recognized by all, and he soon won his way into the hearts of the folk at S. Barnabas'. It was, therefore, with genuine sorrow that they received his announcement one Sunday evening in 1911 that he had decided to respond to a call to go to the Universities' Mission in the Diocese of Zanzibar. Great as the

THE REV. H. C. FRITH.
(Vicar 1911–16.)

wrench was in leaving S. Barnabas', to which, as he recounted later, he owed so much, and where he had learnt the beauty of Catholic worship and the strength of the Catholic Faith; yet there is no doubt that from the time when, as a small boy from Westminster School, he had stood by the open grave of the great Livingstone, his interest in mission work had increased year by year, so that when at last the call came it found him ready.

The times are too recent to justify more than passing mention to the two Vicars who have succeeded Archdeacon Hallett. For a period of five years the Rev. Herbert C. Frith, who had been the Vicar of the Church of the Holy Redeemer at Clerkenwell, continued the work of God at S. Barnabas's. During his vicariate the Chapel of the Reserved Sacrament was added to the Church, and the Parish Hall acquired and refitted. An eloquent preacher and a faithful servant of S. Barnabas's, he worthily upheld the traditions of the Church until December, 1916, when he was appointed Vicar of S. Alban's, Holborn. Some little time elapsed after Mr. Frith's preferment before the appointment in April, 1917, of the Rev. A. G. Bisdee, the present Vicar; in the interval the Rev. W. D. Sargent was responsible for the services. Perhaps no more striking service has been witnessed even at S. Barnabas', so

noted for the beauty of its ritual, than that at which Mr. Bisdee was inducted by Bishop Gore. The Bishop, in cope and mitre; the Vicar kneeling before him with processional cross and torches in the background; the glorious altar of S. Barnabas'—all these were a fitting prelude to the entry of the fifth Vicar into his parish. For obvious reasons it is undesirable to discuss the merits of one who, it is to be hoped, is but on the threshold of his vicariate; but that S. Barnabas' is safe in his hands, and will under his care continue to exert its great influence in the Catholic Movement, admits of no doubt.

Apart from the beneficed clergy there are many others who have served S. Barnabas' with love and devotion, and amongst them the name of John Foster, the faithful verger, will always be remembered. From the time when, on Mr. Combe's recommendation, he had been appointed sacristan in 1869, until his retirement in 1909—a span of forty years' service—Foster's was a well known figure in the parish. In the early days when most of the type was cast upon the premises, Foster had been a type-founder at the University Press. Later he changed his vocation, as will be seen from a little character sketch which was written during his lifetime: "... to write an article on S. Barnabas' without referring to

THE REV. A. G. BISDEE.
(The present Vicar.)

its first Vicar is impossible. It is no less impossible, when writing of its people, to do so without mentioning Mr. John Foster, the brass plate on whose door opposite the Church (blending with commendable brevity his ecclesiastical avocation with the stern necessities of a corporeal existence) proclaims his position as 'Sacristan and Coal Merchant'! Sacristan he has been ever since the foundation of the Church (as he himself will tell you he was 'instituted with Mr. Noel'), and he has grown from youth to age in the service of the Church to which he is so deeply attached.

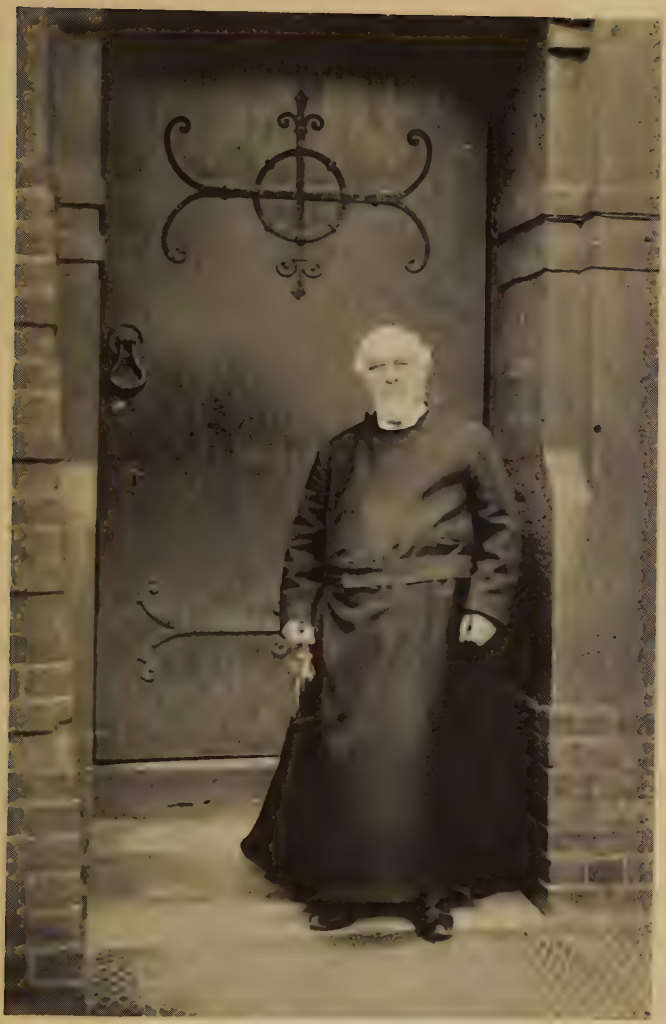
"How many times Mr. Foster has lighted the candles on the Altars for Eucharist and Evensong, and how many undergraduates, who afterwards became famous in the world outside Oxford, he has shown to seats in the Church it is impossible for any one to compute. To few churches has it been given to enjoy the services of so faithful an official for so long a time."[1]

Failing health rendered it necessary that Foster should give up his post in 1909. He lingered on until 1916, when he was laid to rest close to his friend and master, Thomas Combe, in S. Sepulchre's Cemetery. During the last years of his life he was bedridden, but, thanks

[1] *S. Barnabas'*, by R. A. R. Bennett, in *The Treasury*, June, 1907.

to Mr. Hallett, an arrangement of telephone wires, by which he was enabled to follow the services, was installed between his house and the Church. Father Noel's own words may well conclude this brief notice of one to whom S. Barnabas' owes so much: "The Church owes him a debt of gratitude for the faithful, loving, and capable way in which he performed his duties, and for the enthusiastic way in which he did what he could for the Catholic cause."

Another name is that of Mr. Thomas Hodges, to whom the writer of this book is much indebted for voluminous notes and information regarding the past history of S. Barnabas'. To state that ever since the parish began he has devoted himself to the Church, has kept the accounts both of school and vestry, seems when reduced to print a somewhat insufficient record. Perhaps the opinions given by two of the former clergy of S. Barnabas' may more adequately convey the affection and esteem in which Mr. Hodges is held. "Very reserved, very unselfish, absolutely faithful, always rather inclined to give weight to the side which on the whole he does not take, never broken in his allegiance to persons and plans which he can gently and rather sadly criticize, I cannot but feel that of all my S. Barnabas'



JOHN FOSTER.
(Sacristan 1869–1909.)

friends he is the one whose adherence means most, and is most precious," writes one; whilst another says, "Words cannot but fail when I speak of what I and S. Barnabas' owe to Thomas Hodges. Whether in choir, as server at the Altar, as keeper of Church and school accounts, or as school manager, he was a marvel of wisdom and of perseverance. Always true, outspoken, and quiet, his influence, wisdom, and good tone have been of the greatest value for between forty and fifty years to S. Barnabas'."

It would be impossible to record the names of a tithe of those who have served S. Barnabas'. The Sisters of the Holy Trinity Convent, Mrs. Weston, with her thirty years' devoted service, Percy Phipps, a thurifer for over twenty years and builder of the organ, are cases that spring to one's mind out of the many who have blessed the day when first they set foot in S. Barnabas', that haven of rest to many a soul weary with much travail.

Seldom, indeed, have the dreams of a founder been realized to the extent that they have been in the case of Thomas Combe and the Church which he built in Jericho; and in bringing to a conclusion this account of S. Barnabas' and the men who have served it during the fifty years of its existence, one

not unnaturally wonders what share will be taken in the future by this Church, which in the past has played such a prominent part in the Catholic revival; and again this thought becomes merged in the larger consideration of what may be the destiny of the Church of England itself. The world is reeling from the shock of war, old institutions have been shaken from their base, and new forms of thought are to be found on every side. The times are fraught with grave peril, and no man can say what dangers may yet confront the Church in this land of ours, but that in the end it will emerge triumphant, and that in its victory those who have received their faith from the Altar of S. Barnabas' will have upheld the tradition of their Church, none may doubt.

APPENDIX

List of the Clergy of S. Barnabas' Oxford

1869–1899.	**Montague H. Noel** (Vicar).
1869–1871.	C. H. Moore. R.I.P.
1869–1871.	M. G. Davidson. R.I.P.
1871–1873.	A. W. Hutton. R.I.P.
1872–1873.	H. R. Rendle. R.I.P.
1872–1875.	C. B. Tyrwhit.
1873–1876.	H. C. Shuttleworth. R.I.P.
1876–1877.	E. Ibbotson. R.I.P.
1876–1878.	E. H. Walters.
1877–1879.	E. S. Shuttleworth.
1879–1885.	E. V. Collins. R.I.P.
1880–1883.	R. Horton. R.I.P.
1883–1884.	P. H. Leary.
1883–1887.	M. Kirkby.
1885–1886.	H. G. Hellier. R.I.P.
1886–1899.	C. H. Bickerton Hudson.
1887.	E. A. Cosens. R.I.P.
1887–1889.	A. Coates.
1887–1890.	E. Tyrrell Green.
1888–1902.	H. T. Adams.
1890–1894.	W. R. Pascoe.

1897–1902.	R. A. J. M. Waldram.
1899–1901.	**C. H. Bickerton Hudson** (Vicar)
1902–1911.	**Cyril Hallett** (Vicar).
1902–1909.	W. E. P. Hogg.
1903–	W. D. Sargent.
1909–1917.	G. A. Michell.
1911–1916.	**H. C. Frith** (Vicar).
1917–	**A. G. Bisdee** (Vicar).
1917–1918.	G. H. Bown. R.I.P.
1918–1919.	G. A. Michell.

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